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The image of Saint-Petersburg in Nordic and Baltic countries

Master's Thesis

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Abstract

In my Master thesis I examine the image of Saint-Petersburg in Nordic and Baltic countries. The object of my research is residents of Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Saint-Petersburg. The aim of my research is to show a decrease in differences in how the city is perceived by its residents and residents of Baltic and Nordic countries.

The research project is based on social constructivism theoretical framework and the image theory. The methodological bases of my research are the following: the analytical method used in identifying and studying the characteristics of St. Petersburg; the comparative method, which provided a framework for comparing theoretical data regarding the city's image; and the historicism method.

A polls and interviews carried out among both the population of St. Petersburg and tourists from Finland, Estonia and Latvia were one of the methods of research. Interviews captured respondents' descriptions of the city and included questions about how the person views the city; about the most significant historical events in the city; about differences between St. Petersburg and other cities. Thirty inhabitants of St. Petersburg and thirty inhabitants from Baltic and Nordic countries took part in the poll.

During work on my master thesis it was found that under the conditions of globalized culture, the borders surrounding a city's image are slowly being eroded. Now, the way a city's residents perceive their city's image hardly differs from how foreigners do. If earlier each country had its own image of St. Petersburg, at present, the image of the city in Estonia, Latvia and Finland does not differ from its image among locals.

Thus, due to globalization processes that contributed to the merging of internal and external images of the city, as well as the city's branding in the countries surveyed, St. Petersburg has an image of a unique, inimitable city. It is considered one of the important centers of Russia, a city with an amazing history and unique monuments. In general it can be said that St. Petersburg has a special significance for Finns, Estonians and Latvians, as well as for its

residents. First of all, it is considered a European, cosmopolitan metropolis, unlike other Russian cities.

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Introduction

This research has an actual application in the modern world. Its relevance is connected to a great interest in the subject of cities in modern science. Today urban populations are increasing, along with the value of cities' role in world politics; cities are becoming more technically developed; and more attention is being paid to the image of cities. In recent years we can see the intensive and accelerating urbanization which has captured all continents, countries, and cities. The city – becoming the center of major developmental impulses such as the formation of civil society, and the improvement of state institutes, international organizations, foreign policy structures, international political and economic relations, and cultural exchanges – has turned into a large and influential actor in world politics.

During the globalization era, the world's largest cities have encountered the need to preserve their identities. Today world culture represents city culture. A large percent of the population of developed countries lives in the cities. Now it is important not only to manage the development of the city, but also to develop an image on which the city and country can depend as a whole.

In the consciousness of not only foreigners, but also people from other cities of Russia, St. Petersburg is considered a cultural, majestic and European city. And now as its image plays an important role in forming the image of the country, it is possible to say that the image of St. Petersburg is an image of Russia. Most foreigners develop their opinion about Russia having visited this city. They visit Petersburg as it is the city of Finnish composer Jan Sibelius, Estonian poetess Lydia Koidula, and Mannerheim; as it is a city which is included in the list of UNESCO world heritage sites; and as it is a city with amazing architecture. However, for inhabitants of other parts of Russia who live in small towns and have never been abroad, St. Petersburg is a European city. Therefore they go to St. Petersburg to experience European culture. For them it is a European city, the city of Pushkin and Dostoevsky, unique in its architectural styles.

Thus, if earlier there were several images St. Petersburg which varied from country to country, , in our globalized culture, the cultural image of the Petersburg in Estonia, Latvia and Finland remains fairly stable and uniform.

Developing and forming cities' images are becoming now more and more pertinent. The positive image of a city is necessary to attract financial investments and tourists and to improve the social well-being of its residents. The image of the city influences various aspects of urban development, primarily economic, cultural, and migratory processes, and also the behavior of city residents.

Novelty

Now that the image of St. Petersburg is actively being studied, there is a set of works devoted to image, and there are also works explaining the image of Petersburg within the city and abroad, especially in post-imperial places. All these works consider the image of St. Petersburg as a city of culture and education. However all these works consider the image of the city from the position of its cultural magnificence, not from a grass-roots level. In this paper we follow the image of the city from its very foundation and discuss how it has changed throughout history. We try to consider the city's image in all aspects. Modern works about St. Petersburg show it from the point of the view of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; however, the modern image of the city is barely considered. Though now very few people remember Jan Sibelius or Lydia Koidula, nevertheless the city didn't lose importance for them and still remains cultural and majestic. The city has changed throughout its existence: it has seen both ups and downs, including the Russian Empire, revolutions, and the collapse of the Soviet Union. As the city changed, its inhabitants changed along with it.

The degree of scrutiny.

There is a set of literature devoted to the image of St. Petersburg in Finland, Estonia, and Latvia, as well as among local residents. However, this body of literature does not consider the changing epoch. It points out that St. Petersburg is not only the administrative center of Russia, but also the center of cultural development. St. Petersburg played a significant role in developing Estonia, Latvia and Finland in the nineteenth century; however, the modern generation of these countries is gradually forgetting this role Petersburg played. Nevertheless, they perceive it as the cultural capital of Russia. Thus, throughout all history the city has changed, but it has still remained a cultural city in the opinion of foreigners. To study modern opinions about the city, interviews with locals¹ and residents of Estonia, Latvia and Finland were conducted²; foreigners' blogs about St. Petersburg were studied³; newspaper articles from various Finnish magazines were analyzed; and materials from various city government websites were used, including the city development plans "The General Plan of the City"⁴ and "The Concept 20"⁵.

The chronological framework of this research goes from the eighteenth century to the present. These dates are not chosen casually; in 1703 construction of the new city began, which significantly influenced development not only in Russia, but also in its adjacent territories.

1 Appendix1

2 Appendix2

3 Bloggers Elina, Anneli, Hanni

4 Официальный сайт Администрации Санкт-Петербурга. http://gov.spb.ru/helper/social/soc_vet/o-povyshenii-kachestva-zhizni-pozhilyh-peterburzhc/, last accessed 01.11.2012

5 Концепция 20. http://cedipt.spb.ru/concept_2020/2.11.pdf, last accessed 01.11.2012

The object of my research is residents of Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Saint-Petersburg.

The subject of my research is the image of St. Petersburg in the consciousness of residents of Finland, Estonia, and Latvia.

The aim of my research is to show a decrease in differences in how the city is perceived by its residents and residents of Baltic and Nordic countries.

Research question: is there any difference in how St. Petersburg is perceived in the Baltic and Nordic countries versus how St. Petersburg is perceived among its residents?

In order to achieve this goal, this master project intends to meet the following objectives.

1. To analyze the concept of identity, the self / other nexus, city identity, and city image in international relations;
2. To define concepts constituting the image of the city and to describe properties, types, functions and structures of a city's image;
3. To give short characteristic on various spheres of life in St. Petersburg and to find out what elements compose the image of St. Petersburg and what attitudes do residents have;
4. To find out what is being done in St. Petersburg to improve its image;
5. To analyze what residents from Latvia, Estonia, and Finland think about Saint-Petersburg.

Methods of research

The methodological bases of my research are the following: the analytical method used in identifying and studying the characteristics of St. Petersburg; the comparative method, which provided a framework for comparing theoretical data regarding the city's image; and the historicism method. The study is based on the principles of interpretation of source systematization and the comparative analysis of data, as well as chronological, classification, and assessment methods. Using the method of system analysis allowed me to comprehensively understand processes influencing the image of the city.

A polls and interviews carried out among both the population of St. Petersburg and tourists from Finland, Estonia and Latvia were one of the methods of research. Interviews captured respondents' descriptions of the city and included questions about how the person views the city; about the most significant historical events in the city, as well as their role in the city and country as a whole; about myths connected with the city; about differences between St. Petersburg and other cities; and about negative connotations associated with the city⁶. The poll

⁶ Appendix 1, Appendix 2

was conducted in 2012-2013. Thirty inhabitants of St. Petersburg and thirty inhabitants from Baltic and Nordic countries took part in the poll.

During work on my master thesis, I paid much attention to **literature**. The review of literature on the chosen issue showed me that the image of the city is topical for research. There are many points of view on the concept of a city's image. For defining the image of the city, the following sources are used: the work of Iver Neumann⁷ and N.F.Dmitrevskoy "An image of the city as a social phenomenon" (SPb, 1999)⁸, A.E.Kiryunina's work "Image of the region as a culture interiorization" (M, 2000)⁹, and the abstract of the master's thesis of L.E.Trushinoy "An image of the city and an urban environment" (SPb, 2000)¹⁰. For describing components of a city's image the following sources were used: K.Lynch's work "Image of the city" (M, 1982)¹¹, A.F.Losev's work "Dialectics of the myth" (M, 2001), O. Spengler's work "the Decline of the West" (M, 2000)¹², the collection of "Modern City Folklore" (M, 2003)¹³, and also D. Myers' "Social psychology" (SPb, 1998)¹⁴.

Outline structure

My research project consists of an introduction, main body consisting of five chapters, conclusion, bibliography, and appendix.

The introduction outlines relevance research issues; defines main objectives, research aim, objects and subjects; considers main sources; and characterizes research methods and the work's academic novelty.

In the first chapter I examine the theoretical component of my work. In the second chapter I define the image of the city, as well as its properties, types, functions, structure, and I give a detailed account of city branding and marketing. The third chapter is devoted to the creation of the structure of the image of St. Petersburg. It consists of two sub-chapters. In the first sub-chapter we give a short characteristic of various spheres of activity in the city, in the second one we tell about the main historical events, outstanding persons, enterprises,

⁷Neumann, Iver B. Uses of the Other: the East in European identity formation. Manchester. Manchester University Press. P.4

⁸Дмитревская, Н.Ф. Образ города как социальный феномен / Н.Ф. Дмитревская. – СПб.: Изд-во СПбГУЭФ, 1999. – р. 192

⁹Кирюнин, А.Е. Имидж региона как интериоризация культуры / А.Е. Кирюнин. – М.: Книжный дом «Университет», 2000. – 144 с.

¹⁰Трушина, Л.Е. Образ города и городской среды: автореф. дис... канд. филос. наук / Л.Е. Трушина. – СПб., 2000. – 19 с.

¹¹Lynch K. The Image of the City. – М.: Stroyizdat, 1982. – 328 p.

¹²Oswald Spengler. The Decline of the West., 2000, 2000– p. 1371.

¹³Разумова, И.А. Несказочная проза провинциального города / И.А. Разумова // Современный городской фольклор. – М.: Российск. гос. гуманит. ун-т, 2003. С. 544-559.

¹⁴David. Myers. Social Psychology ., 1998. p. 688

organizations, sights, and myths and legends which formed the image of the city. The fourth chapter tells about those necessary measures which were taken in the city in recent years to improve the city's condition, as well as to increase its status both in Russia and abroad. Finally, the fifth chapter analyzes how images of St. Petersburg have been perceived in Finland, Estonia and Latvia from the city's founding until the present.

Chapter 1. The image of the city in a globalized culture.

In this research project, I am interested in examining the image of the city in its citizens' consciousness versus image of the same city in the consciousness of foreigners. I am also interested in how the city's image affects the country's image. Further, I will formulate a theoretical framework for the concept of identity and self/other nexus, and then try to link it with the image of the city.

Identity

According to the constructivist approach, identity is understood as a specific component of the process of socialization, which allows one to make socialization more successful. Identity is a dynamic system of constructs which focuses on personal self-image. Identity is constructed based on an understanding of one's place in the world.

Identity is a broad concept that includes all personal qualities resulting from the convergence of biological, psychological, social, and cultural factors.¹⁵ Today, the concept of "identity" in a variety of contexts is widely used in psychology, sociology, philosophy, and political science. Researchers try to "find" identity and understand the principles of its existence. The term "identity" became popular in the 50s in the USA after the emergence of E. Ericson's works "Identity: Youth and Crisis" and "Childhood and Society".

The inventor of this term in its academic sense, Ericson considered identity as a process concentrated in the nature of the individual and in the culture to which this individual belongs.¹⁶ In fact identity is a certain form of compliance between the individual and his/her culture. It should be noted that according to Erikson, there are two definitions of identity that describe this concept.

First, identity is defined as a subjective sense of the integrality of one's personality that occurs spontaneously, unexpectedly, as the recognition of its essence.

Second, identity is understood as the result of one's experience and awareness of membership in one particular social group in contrast to other groups.¹⁷

Therefore, while discussing the category of "identity", we should keep in mind the ambivalent character of this phenomenon, as noted by E.Erikson. He considered identity as something dual. On the one hand, this phenomenon is static, i.e. it "reaches culmination in its

¹⁵ Stoller R.J. Sex and gender. — New-York: Science House, 1968. — Vol.1.

¹⁶ Erik Erikson. Childhood and Society 1993 p.340

¹⁷ Ibid

development and finds some integrity and completeness ". It arises from a comparison with the same object, otherwise meaning is lost. On the other hand, identity is permanently dynamic, as "we can see identity as constantly changing to the end of life, never remaining invariable ...".¹⁸ "I" is auto-referential each time it appears, but it is not the same I which is present, but rather the "Other". This is the concept of difference.

Additional difficulties in determining identities arise because the term comprises two different meanings. P. Riker identifies two Latin roots forming the word "identity": "idem" and "ipse". "Idem" is a synonym for "extremely similar" and underscores a certain kind of invariance throughout time. The second root «ipse» likens "identity» with the concept of "selfhood". This second meaning connotes continuity, stability, and constancy throughout time.¹⁹ Thus in one word two different meanings overlap each other. This interpretation of identity, as noted by Riker, consists in exploring numerous possibilities for establishing links between permanence and change. The paradox is that the thinking deals with a concept of identity in which two meanings become intertwined: identity as sameness and identity as selfhood.

The concept of one's "identity» is a notion from social / political psychology. From this perspective, it is possible to delineate two paths for research. On the one hand, political identity is part of individual identity, or the "I-concept", one of the components of human personality.²⁰

On the other hand, identity is understood as the result of an individual's or group's identification with a social community and identity is thus regarded as a sociological concept. Identity is "a phenomenon arising thanks to the dialectics of individual and society write Berger and Lukman and thereby reject the previous notion of identity, turning it into their idea of "collective identity".²¹

Researcher I. Goffman paid attention to how people, when acquiring an identity, have to resolve the most difficult conflict between two illusions – the commonness and uniqueness of one's own personality. For Goffman, the problem of identity is a problem linked to its very possibility of existence.²²

Let's focus on one approach to identity which distinguishes between two concepts. Formal identity is the set of qualitative features of a given object (including such abstract objects

¹⁸ Павлова О.Н. Идентичность: история формирования взглядов и ее структурные особенности. – М.: Идея-Пресс, 2001.

¹⁹ Ricoeur, Paul, Narrative Identity, *Philosophy Today*, 35:1 (1991:Spring) p.73

²⁰ Конева А.В. Социальная идентичность в эпоху глобализации // *Studia Culturae*. Выпуск 7. Альманах кафедры философии культуры и культурологии и Центра изучения культуры философского факультета Санкт-Петербургского государственного университета. - СПб.: Санкт-Петербургское философское общество, 2005. – С. 25-34.

²¹ Lubbe, H. (1994) Identity through histories, *Questions of philosophy*, vol. 4: 108-113.

²² Hoffman I. Presentation of Self in everyday life. М., 2000

as numbers). And real identity is the set of characteristics of only empirical objects and has different forms depending on the ontological status of a particular object. By real identity we understand the preservation of an object's form over time. Real identity is the result of an intense struggle between forms, which found an embodiment in matter and temporal measurement.²³ Thus, it is possible to conclude that identity isn't anything given a priori, but that it is always created and determined after the fact.

Self/other nexus.

The study of identity is always connected with the "Self / other" binary. Hegel was one of the first theorists who observed the link between identity formation and the dichotomy of self/other. "Each is for the other the middle term through which each mediates itself: and each is for himself, and for other, an immediate being on its own accord, which at the same time is such only through this mediation. They recognize themselves as mutually recognizing one another".²⁴ Thus, he formulated the idea that by knowing the other, the self has the opportunity to simultaneously recognize and be recognized as itself.

The issue of self/other relations is also discussed in the question of boundaries between two groups. Frederik Barth, in his "Ethnic Groups and Boundaries," emphasized that ethnic groups were reproduced by the maintenance of boundaries that separate them from the other groups, who were identified as other due to their lack of this or that trait.²⁵ Thus, he emphasizes that the identification of demarcation lines is an important goal in the study of the self/other nexus. He stresses that there are different boundaries: linguistic, religious, national, etc. However language is probable one of the most crucial markers for collective identity formation.

The working boundary between the "us" and "them" categories is also part of the sphere of psychoanalysis. According to Hogg and Abrahams, "A differentiation arises between ourselves, the we-group, or in-group, and everybody else, or the other-groups, out-groups. The insiders in we-group are in a relation of peace, order, law, government, and industry to each other. Their relation to all outsiders, or other-group, is one of war and plunder, except so far as agreements have modified it".²⁶ And further: "Just as we categorize objects, experiences and other people, we also categorize ourselves. The outcome of this process of self-categorization is an accentuation of similarities between self and other in-groupers and differences between self and out groupers, that is, self stereotyping. To be more precise, self categorization causes self-

²³ Hersley, V. (1994) The crisis of individual and collective identity, *Questions of philosophy*, vol.10: C. 112 — 123.

²⁴ Hegel. *Phenomenology of Spirit*. Oxford: Oxford university press 1977, p.112

²⁵ Neumann, Iver B. *Uses of the Other: the East in European identity formation*. Manchester. Manchester University Press. P.4

²⁶ Hogg and Abrams 1988, p.17

perception and self-definition to become more in terms of the individual's representation of the defining characteristics of the group, or the group prototype”²⁷

As we can see, there are a number of studies about the problem of identity formation and the self/other nexus. The crux of the anthropological approach is a description of the self through its opposition to the other. Thus analyses of self/other help better understand who "the actors" are, how they were constituted, how they maintain themselves, and under which preconditions they may thrive.

An analysis of theories detailing perspectives of identity shows general representations concerning identity formation. The «Self/ other" binary becomes crucial to the study of identity. The "Self" owes the "other" its existence.

Identity of the city.

Currently, globalization is one of the distinguishing features of St. Petersburg's present stage of social development.

Globalization has increased the intensity of cultural exchanges. In fact, it created transparent borders for talented individuals, lifting almost all restrictions for outstanding performers, conductors, artists and filmmakers on moving between countries. The products of creativity and culture in the conditions of globalization do not belong to a specific nation; rather, they become the property of all mankind. Globalization promotes cultural universality. The globalization of culture is the acceleration of the integration of nations in a global system following the development of modern vehicles and economic relations and the formation of transnational corporations and a global market, thanks to how mass media impacts people.

Globalization led to basic changes in the relationships between national, elite, and mass cultures, as it has contributed to their mixing and interweaving. Clear boundaries between cultures do not exist.

Also in recent years the process of urbanization has become an integral part of the modern world. Urbanization is present in a growing number of cities and can be seen in their intensive development and consolidation. There is an active exodus of residents from rural to urban areas, especially large ones. Some scientists say that in the near future it will be possible to forecast not only the dominance of the urban way of life, but also the establishment of a universal urban way of life.

Psychology, when discussing problems inherent to the city, most often studies questions connected with perception of architecture (Lynch K. 1986) and with city space as a whole.

²⁷ Ibid, p.21

Collective identity - is a sense of belonging or being connected to a particular community (a nation, group, language group, party, etc.), culture, tradition, or ideology (religion, social movement).²⁸

Thus, each person possesses a unique combination of identities which define and explain his behavior in society. "Thus,"- L. Smirnyagin writes, "there is also a territorial identity – the feeling between a social community and its fellow countrymen because of their cohabitation in one territory in the present or past."²⁹ Thus, in a broad sense, the city's identity is how citizens understand and perceive the city and identify themselves with it.

At the same time, many experts do not provide accurate definitions of the city's identity, considering that it isn't limited to just the city's perception by its inhabitants. For example, River Govers writes about "true city identity, which is defined as "a set of unique characteristics and meanings, which the city has, and which are created by its cultural life"³⁰. A number of experts go further, claiming that the city's identity is not a subjective, but rather an objective characteristic.³¹ And certain experts hold that cities, like people, possess personal characteristics and show them in the unpredictable forms of its development happening from time to time³².

In actuality, we understand urban identity to be the result of identifying with a group of people who are the population of one city, in contrast to the population of other cities and towns.

Representatives of out-groups for those who identify as urban can be residents of both other cities and rural districts. It is possible to assume, therefore, that two semantic kernels are presented in the maintenance of city identity. The first involves understanding the norms, rules and values of urban residents in general, as opposed to rural norms, rules, and values ("I am a citizen"). The second is connected with identifying with a concrete city and with assimilating its values: "I am a Petersburg", "I am a Muscovite", etc. Nowadays identification processes of inhabitants of megalopolises differ from similar processes among populations of small cities³³.

The content of urban identity is formed through several channels. One of them is the structuring and regulating of human social interaction. The other is connected with comprehending (or, more often, mythologizing) the city's history and historical and/or present-day value for its country³⁴.

²⁸ Тишков В. Новые и старые идентичности. 2010. — URL: http://valerytishkov.ru/cntnt/nauchnaya_/obrazy_rossii/starye_i_n.html.

²⁹ Смирнягин Л. Система расселения России: тенденции к переменам // Городской альманах. — Вып. 4. — М.: Фонд «Институт экономики города», 2009.

³⁰ Govers R., Go F. Place Branding. 2009. p.52

³¹ Barke at al. 1994

³² Twigger-Ross at al. 1996

³³ Акопов Г.В. Российское сознание: историко-психологические очерки. - Самара, 2002

³⁴ Рабжаева М.В., Семенов В.Е. Какая идентичность у жителей Санкт-Петербурга? // Социология культуры. - СПб., 2003. - с. 82-90.

Factors impacted the formation of city identity include the following:

- Stable factors (or structural) factors - such as the city's location, climate and history; variable factors (changed in long-term prospect) - such as the city's size and population appearance, welfare standards, and cultural traditions;
- Symbolic factors - urban symbolism, the political climate, inhabitants' cultural codes of conduct, significant events, personality, trends for goods and services, the community's nature of communication, and other components. One can select several parameters, which, to some extent, is measured by the strength or weakness of each city's identity, in other words, by the level of local self-consciousness.

Parameters measuring the identity of each city include the following:

- The uniqueness of the city - the ability of citizens to envision and develop the city's unique features and characteristics, the presence of unique cultural behavioral patterns in the urban community;
 - Identification of perceptions of the city — understanding of how citizens characterize their city using external categories (to the country, the region, other types of cities — "I live in a seaside city"; "I live in a mining city"; "I live in the capital of Siberia", and so on);
 - Positivity of perceptions of the city, internal loyalty — citizens' degree of love and affection (both physical, and emotional) for the city, such as "my city is the best in the world", citizens' interest in the city's history and cultural life;
 - Cohesion of the urban community. Citizens' common interests and degree of consensus on common problems facing urban development; their willingness and ability to implement joint initiatives; and their level of sympathy for fellow countrymen all fit into this category.
 - The practical potential of identity — city communities' ability to self-organize, their levels of social activity, and the community's effective desire to strengthening city identity.
- Each individual city's identity is defined by a combination of these parameters, which each city has for itself.

Image

The concept of "image" emerged in the market competition in the early 1960s as the primary means of psychological warfare over the consumer. In American scholarship, this area of knowledge is called "images", and its founder was a professor at the University of Michigan, economist Kenneth Boulding.

Boulding describes the concept of "image" broadly, defining it as "... a universal mechanism involved in the management of social processes." "Image", according to him, is the science that claims to be the universal theory explaining people's behavior³⁵.

He proposed to consider the national image on two planes: the external - as a representation of the country, which has also developed in the public opinion of other countries and / or civilizations - and domestic - as a representation of the citizens of one's native country. Internal image, in modern works on communication, is called identity. Identity is, on the one hand, expectations regarding the actor himself, and on the other hand, what is especially typical for group identity. It is a set of visual images that allows the group to separate itself from other groups.

In order for the city obtain a good perception on the outside; special means of communication and for effectively relaying attractive parts of city identity are necessary. This is precisely the role of the city's image.

Strategic management of the city's image is based on a positioning strategy which defines a set of competitive advantages for the territory. These competitive advantages are brought to the consciousness of target consumers. Strategic image management includes creating values for the territory in consumers' consciousness, choosing ways to represent them to the consumers, and maintaining them at a certain level through different means of communication and regular image monitoring.

The city's image is the set of images determining the values of a geoproduct, and strategic image management is the creation of images in the consumers' consciousness associated with geoproduct values. The values of a geoproduct are defined by their consumer properties and by their competitive advantages.

Strategic image management is a sequence of steps and actions through which the main goal of management — i.e. formation of an image in the consciousness of real and potential consumers — is reached.

Conclusion

Thus, according to the constructivist approach, identity is a unique process of socialization. I think identity is a socially-constructed phenomenon: it does not exist per se, but is

³⁵ Boulding K.E The Image: Knowledge in Life and Society. N.Y., 1956.

produced and reproduced by social action and ideas. The study of identity is always carried via the "Self / Other" opposition. The self always connect with others.

Identity is a key concept for the image of the city. It is difficult to identify, describe, verbalize and visualize. Each resident always has his or her own idea about the identity of the city and about where he or she lives, so reaching a general consensus on city identity is a very complex challenge.

The city's identity includes citizens' deep emotions and feelings towards the city which they use to identify both the city and themselves.

The correct assessment of a city's image promotes its development and strengthening. To create the correct and positive image of the territory, it is necessary to use the following basic principles: the principle of compliance between external form and internal contents, the principle of truthfulness and simplicity, the principle of positive appeal, and the principle of exclusiveness.

On the one hand, each citizen has her or her own identity of the city, but on the other hand, using certain mechanisms, it is possible to come to a general understanding of a city's identity.

Chapter 2. The image of the city: definition of concepts and structure of the city's image

1.1 Image, subimage: the definition of concepts.

This study aims to examine the image of St. Petersburg in the conscience of inhabitants of selected Baltic and Nordic countries.

It is known that modern society is characterized by a steadily increasing value of intangible assets. As such, image, reputation, and brand become influential factors in the formation of people's ideas about the world.

Image is a very broad term which includes many others, such as subimage, brand, stereotype, and myth; in the broadest sense, the image of a city can be defined as the range of characteristics of said city, reflected in people's minds.

Image

Researcher Nina Dmitrievskaya gives the following definition of the concept of image: "The image is the resulting, ideal form of reflection of an object found in the mind of the people and appearing in socio-historical practice, based on and formed by sign systems".³⁶

The image of the city is a set of popular beliefs and feelings concerning the climatic, historical, ethnographic, social, economic, political, moral, and psychological and features of the city, among others. The subjective notion of territory can be formed as a result of direct personal experience (for example, following a physical presence in a given territory) or indirect experience (for example, following reports from eyewitnesses, mass media, etc.)

The image is understood as an external view created by the subject, in order to produce a certain impression, opinion, and attitude in the minds of other people. It is important to understand that by means of the image, it is impossible to convey the entire spectrum of information; only the most key and prominent characteristics go into developing a city's image.

The image of territory is very versatile and is created by emotional and artificial means, which anchors the image in people's minds. It is constructed by the administration, the mass media, outstanding figures of various spheres of society, and the populations of both the region and of the settlements comprising its structure.

The originality of the image is that it is something subjective, ideal. Once established, the image becomes relatively independent. The image is very important, as it is the first criteria by which a person judges and perceives the city. In other words, under the conditions of competition, the economic and demographic characteristics of a city – and the impressions they

³⁶ Дмитриевская Н.Ф. Образ города как социальный феномен. СПб., 1999. С.18

produce – will be almost equally weighed by potential investors, who will assess the recollections, associations, and intonations generated by the image of the city.

The creation of the image of territory is a necessary condition for a city's development. This process begins with identifying a target audience, as it is necessary to know the opinions of the people and organizations which determine spaces and values for all types of business partnerships.

The modern image of the city is defined, first of all, by the quality of informational work within the target groups of consumers: city dweller, business, and guests. The city populace's confidence in the future, social optimism, and trust in local government create a favorable image of the city in its collective consciousness. Advertizing media and PR are used for such purposes as launching educational campaigns to promote love for the city, environmental stewardship, and urban law and order.

Image formation results from the place which a city occupies on the international market as well. Positive and favorable images act as preconditions for the acceleration of cities' social and economic growth and for improving the level and quality of life of their populations, as they solve a number of fundamental developmental issues for the territory at hand. First of all, attracting investments, expanding markets of national and regional producers, attracting manpower resources, and increasing the number of tourists lead to new monetary public revenues, to the boosted attention of potential investors, to an increase in a city's economic potential, to the creation of new workplaces, to enhanced production development, and so on. As such, a city's investment attractiveness and competitiveness among other similar cities directly depends on its image.

Thus, city residents should be interested in creating a healthy image, because the better the city will be "sold," the better its inhabitants' quality of living will become.

City objects which become "products" of image formation are:

- Urban environment: safety, environment and cleanliness, international education, public health;
- Appearance of the city: architecture, transport, development planning and buildings;
- Economic indicators of the city: available resources in the city (i.e. availability of lodging, work, etc. for an individual) as an indicator of the city's labor productivity, the cost of living;
- Infrastructure: communications, roads, power, housing;
- Uniqueness: nature, history, celebrity, culture, sports, entertainment, and events; and
- Goods and services produced in the city

After analyzing these concepts, it is possible to conclude that verbal and nonverbal expressions of an image's structure are defined by the contents of its components. Put

differently, in our opinion, it is possible to identify the following components of an image: emotional, rational, strong-willed and informational.

The basis of an image's rational component is formed from knowledge about the object. Thus, completeness, reliability, and accuracy of knowledge acquire a special value.

The basis of an image's emotional component is formed from emotional perceptions of the object and emotional experiences which are shown in collective (group) feelings and moods. Both collective feelings as specific experiences and collective moods as an individual's long-term, emotional state of mind can have a positive or negative orientation, which, in turn, will be shown in verbal and (especially) nonverbal estimated judgments.

The basis of a strong-willed component is formed from public will and the will of those individuals who are part of the image. The will as an element of the human psyche is the ability to choose the purpose of activity and the internal efforts necessary for its implementation. The strong-willed component is directly connected with rational and emotional components. Rational and emotional components of the image, revealing the essence of its subject and creating its social assessment, thus form a certain strong-willed orientation of the image's subject vis-à-vis its objects. Direct public will is implemented in various forms of mass behavior based on the image's subject.

An image's Information component is based on available knowledge about an image and is defined by the completeness and quality of information which an individual possesses.

Changes in an image's components and in how these components are viewed occur both spontaneously and purposefully in the course of forming and managing mass consciousness.

A city's image executes the functions of organization (creating a complete impression), presentation (creating a favorable impression), communication (communicating with history and modern culture), up classing (for contemporaries and descendants) and idealization (creating an image of the achievable future as a goal to achieve).

The concept of the image of the city can be defined as the attractiveness of the city, which directly effects to involvement of various investment projects, the presence of tourists, and, accordingly, the socio-economic development of the city.

The image of the city plays a huge informational and educational role for its citizens. It demonstrates the city's socio – economic strength, power, wealth, and culture as a cumulative indicator of the city's authority and success on the regional and federal level.

Thus, an image can be defined as a relatively stable and reproducible set of emotional and rational ideas, beliefs, and feelings in the collective or individual consciousness which arise based on characteristics of the region and develop according to information obtained from various sources and personal experience and impressions.

Subimage

The image of a city is influenced by the so-called subimage of the city, i.e. the image of an object which is a part of the city. The subimage of a city is the complex of associative representations grouped around the basic idea of a defined object which is associatively connected with the image of a city.³⁷ For a given region, subimages are: the image of the subregion (for example, the district of the city), of the regional leader, and of the regional company or firm. Subimages make a considerable impact on the image of the city – the image of the regional company can become a "calling card" of the city, and a negative image of the district of the city, in which there was, for example, a technological failure, can spoil the image of the entire city. A.E.Kiryunin notes that the negative image of the subregion is easily transferred to the image of the whole region while a positive one has almost no effect.³⁸

1.2 Types of images

There are several types of images of the city, based on various factors.

First of all, there are internal and external subjects. The first category includes inhabitants of the city, while the latter includes guests of the city and the people from other settlements. The image of an external observer will be different from the image of a resident. City visitors react to their nonnative city whereas inhabitants perceive their city as a self-evident, a priori entity.³⁹

The image of the city is also different in the way the city is perceived. It is possible to identify a tangible and intangible image. The tangible image is very inclusive, as it stems from the collective work of the senses: an impression about the city is made up of what you can see, hear, feel, breathe, and touch. This tangible image touches on everything, beginning with the city's name and symbols and ending with architecture and urban cleanliness.⁴⁰ The intangible image of a city represents emotional communications with a city. Often mass media shapes preconditions of an intangible image.

However, there are no clear distinctions between tangible and intangible images. From the moment we enter the city and become observers ourselves, one image continuously flows into another.

In terms of the nature of its bearers, a city's image can be individual or public.

³⁷ Кирюнин, А.Е. Имидж региона как интериоризация культуры / А.Е. Кирюнин. – М., 2000. С. 128.

³⁸ Кирюнин, А.Е. Имидж региона как интериоризация культуры / А.Е. Кирюнин. – М., 2000. С. 130-131.

³⁹ Алексеева В.Л. Образ города в культурном сознании

⁴⁰ Ibid.

The public image is created by imposing one individual's image on top of another individual's image. However, the possibility of an entire set of public images isn't excluded, each of which is developed by a considerable group of citizens. Such public images are absolutely necessary for the individual to successfully function within the environment and to enter in effective contacts with peers. Every individual image is unique, as it contains components which are never or almost never transferred to another image, but it is more or less the same as the public image, the necessity and intensity of which varies depending on different groups.

1.3 Properties of the image of the city.

Properties of the image of the city include the following:

Variability. The image of the city is not static but changes over time. It develops and changes spontaneously and purposefully. The city's changing image depends on many factors:

1. Economic situation. Economic prosperity is a negative factor for the image of the city. In years of wellbeing, a city disappears from the life of most people. In the years of decline, however, the formation of images can be more active.
2. Unexpected changes. They provoke visions of the hidden aspects of city life.
3. State and urban policies. State policies promote the establishment of a hierarchy of cities in terms of their size, importance, and economic functions, which significantly influences the population's attitude towards them. As a result of state and urban policy, there are certain images of capitals, country towns, locales with a deep religious history, fairs, and other entities.
4. Technical innovations. They have the ability to push aside all that existed before them and smooth out differences between cities. Thus, this factor has a negative role in the preservation of images.⁴¹

Historicity. The image of the city is always entwined in an historical context and a social situation. It cannot be abstracted from the nation, its mentality and its outlook. "The image of the city has its own destiny. Each era generates its own particular perception; change of eras creates a constantly changing, flowing image of the city, and all this makes its essence as the organic whole."⁴²

Relative stability. The stability of the city's image depends on its predominance, the city's place in global economics, and developed stereotypes about the city.⁴³

⁴¹ Дмитриевская, Н.Ф. Образ города как социальный феномен / Н.Ф. Дмитриевская. – СПб., 1999. С. 113-114.

⁴² Анциферов, Н.П. Душа Петербурга/ Н.П. Анциферов. Available at http://belolibrary.imwerden.de/books/Antsiferov/antsyferov_peterburg.rar, last accessed 01.11.2012.

⁴³ Дмитриевская, Н.Ф. Образ города как социальный феномен / Н.Ф. Дмитриевская. – СПб., 1999.С. 114-115

Complexity. All components of the city's image are interconnected, so that a change to any one feature entails a rethinking of other traits.

Pluralism of points of view. There is no one point of view from which it would be possible to capture the city as whole. This property belongs primarily to big cities.⁴⁴

Dependence on objective characteristics of city development.

The image of the city is described through various demographic groups' subjective attitude towards the city and primarily represents the idea of the city. However, in describing the image, it is necessary to take into account the objective characteristics of the city's condition and development because it is precisely through an individual's relationship to them that the image of the city is formed.

Regional characteristics can be classified in different ways, but their essence remains the same: the image of the city is influenced by all of them at once. The image of the city is comprised of the following components:

- 1) Population (demographic, ethnic and religious diversity);
- 2) Economy (structure of the labor market, economic indicators such as salary rates);
- 3) Education, culture, science (ideology, morality, entertainment, etc.);
- 4) The mass media;
- 5) Health care, sports;
- 6) Politics, power structures (regional leaders and the relationship between them);
- 7) The city's legal framework;
- 8) Life, municipal and transport services;
- 9) Architecture, aesthetic appearance;
- 10) Geographical features (climate, landscape, flora, fauna, the availability of minerals, proximity to other regions, etc.);
- 11) Historical past.⁴⁵

To summarize, these characteristics and their perceptions spontaneously and purposefully change as part of a given city's image policy.

1.4 Brand and city marketing

The city's image is formed within and outside its limits. Designing a brand for the city is thus necessary for advancing the city's image.

⁴⁴ Дмитриевская, Н.Ф. Образ города как социальный феномен / Н.Ф. Дмитриевская. – СПб., 1999. С. 107.

⁴⁵ Классификация основана на следующих публикациях: Кирюнин, А.Е. Имидж региона как интериоризация культуры / А.Е. Кирюнин. – М.: Книжный дом «Университет», 2000. – 144 с.; Петрова, Е.А. Имидж Москвы – имидж столицы России / Е.А. Петрова // Имиджеология-2004: состояние, направления, проблемы. – М., 2004. С. 106-108.

A territory's *brand* is a set of values reflecting unique consumer characteristics of this territory and its outlying communities which are widely known, which have gained public recognition, and which take advantage of consumers' stable demands from this territory. The stable, steady brand of the city based on a variety of impressions allows for the rapid inclusion of internal and external investors and promotes dynamic city development. The brand has an impact on the social, cultural, and political aspects of city life. It measures these features, estimating strengths, weaknesses, and attractive characteristics.

Types of brands:

Positive brand. Venice, Singapore, and St. Petersburg unconditionally and unequivocally are associated with such advantages as exotic architecture, financial well-being, a valuable historical past, and high levels of culture. This image does not need to be changed, but rather strengthened, in order to attract a larger number of consumers. **Poorly-expressed brand.** A territory can be rather unknown to the target groups. The main reasons are small size; undeveloped competitive advantages, a lack of advertising, and/or unwillingness attract visitors. In this case, it is necessary to form information streams in a targeted manner.

Excessively traditional brand. As is the case with Great Britain, the image is based on centuries' worth of association, which hampers a dynamic, modern presentation of the country and detracts interest among potentially significant target groups.

Controversial brand. Many metropolitan cities have many advantages, but at the same time they are often associated with smog, dirty water, excessively heavy traffic, and a heavy concentration of crime. Recognized centers of entertainment have a simultaneous reputation for being drug centers. The problem of territory dissolves such a bond and thus corrects the image.

The mixed brand. Very often a territory's image has "pluses" and «minuses" which have not been interconnected among themselves. For example, Italy, as well as many other countries, actively looks for visitors and presents itself in an attractive light, but only as long as the tourist does not face possibly strikes from aviation, railway or hotel employees. In such cases, the most widespread method of image creation is highlighting positive associations and concealing negative ones.

Negative brand. Detroit, for example, is a recognized crime capital of America, Colombia is a hub for narcotics and organized crime, and Bangladesh is a center of poverty. It is necessary not only create a new image, but also actively to destroy the old one.

Excessively attractive brand. For example a number of territories (Finland, etc.) have already been faced with the necessity of regulating and reducing an influx of visitors and new residents.

The brand is based on a clearly pronounced positive image of the territory, which has a unique ability to satisfy customers' specific requests.

The brand isn't created in a natural way; rather, it is a product of conscious and controlled thinking, a product of artificially organized public design.

The artificiality of a brand necessitates the management of its creation and development, the presence of the customer, the existence of a skilled group of developers, the presence of informational and financial resources, an accurately formulated task, and constant monitoring of the brand's efficiency.

Brand creation is carried out step by step; at the first stage, developers must seek and locate differences. Here, *difference* means a combination of many details, each of which can be very specific, unique, and, as a rule, very insignificant. The most important task in successful branding is to create an independent subject or idea with its own mission and purpose.

At the next stage, developers intensify differences identified at the first stage. This entails a glorification of the smallest distinctive features until they become important enough to make an impression on the minds of other people.

An important stage in brand development is positioning, i.e. the creation of a unique, inimitable image of the city in the consciousness of a city's residents and potential guests and investors. Such positioning considerably simplifies the search for a businesses' « ideal location» or for a place to relax and engage in self-discovery.

One more stage is the process of identifying the city as an object. Defining its characteristics can create a feeling of "one's own city" among targeted groups.

Branding a city allows developers to unite the interests of various groups: representatives of business, government authorities, financial investors, and the population at large. Successful cities and regions build their brands on the reputations and relations between these groups.

Experts give the following parameters defining the brand of the city:

- Quality of life: availability of housing for different social groups, social services, quality of food, facilities for recreation, quality and availability of education and treatment;
- Human resources: employees' training, professional development, adaptation to new conditions and requirements;
- Infrastructure: transport, communications, hotels, household services, etc.
- High technology: the territory's ability to develop and support high-technology industries and to update its existing base;
- Capital: the mass of manpower and resources concentrated in the territory in the form of personal and outsourced means;

- Supervisory authorities;
- Business infrastructure: the availability and quality of services in the fields of consulting, auditing, advertising, law, media, and public relations, as well as institutional conditions for how property title transactions are implemented;
- Power: a team of people overseeing the overall functioning of the city, their competence and creativity, , their style of decision-making, the transparency of their lawmaking, their awareness of social problems; ⁴⁶
- Environmental situation;
- Positive allusions to the city in mass media: a city's image is formed by increasing the volume of publically-accessible information about it including indexes, ratings, and real-life accounts of urban function and development.

There are several types of brands for cities and territories:

- Historical-cultural (in Russia there are cities in the so-called "Golden Ring": Sergiev Posad, Rostov, Yaroslavl, Kostroma, Ivanovo, Suzdal and Vladimir)
- Religious (this brand includes pilgrimages holy places such as the Vatican, Jerusalem, Mecca and Medina);
- Industrial (only sparkling wine from the Champagne region can be called a true "champagne", porcelain from Meissen has an historical quality; Tula smiths are renowned for their skills, etc.)
- Touristic (the Valley of Geysers and the Egyptian pyramids are examples of natural and reconstructed tourist brands)
- Ethnographic (the territory of Native Americans in North and South America, a Tatar village near Kazan).⁴⁷

There was a time when cities had to compete for literally everything: for investment, information, transportation and tourist influx, environmental/economic/, social/ cultural projects, and, of course, professionals able to manage all these demands. A strong brand is an indicator of the city's overall competitiveness.

Branding the city presupposes a design of its positive image, and a projection of locally specific ideas into the collective consciousness.

⁴⁶Панкрухин, А.П. Муниципальное управление: маркетинг территорий / А.П. Панкрухин. – М., 2002. С. 58-59.

⁴⁷ Сметанников М.М. Брендинг городов и регионов: зарубежный опыт и перспективы развития в России//Инициативы XXI века – 2011 - №4.5. Available at <http://www.ini21.ru/?id=1498>, last accessed 01.11.2012.

The main components which form the brand of a city in the eyes of the people are: climatic conditions, the environment, the existence of cultural, educational and shopping centers, opportunities for self-development, work, and business, the general atmosphere of the city (active street life, friendly people), and the safety of the city for its residents.

Brand is a part of city marketing. "City marketing is a process of planning, coordination and control of direct connections of a municipal government ... with his various partners and target groups (U.Funka). The city is considered as "product" which is offered to "target groups". It is directed "on optimization of correlation between city functions (services) and demand on them of the population, companies, tourists and other visitors of the city" (J. Meer).⁴⁸

The main aspects of city marketing are: purposeful formation and positive development of the city's image; an increase in the frequency of the image; and its attractiveness and prestige for prospective targeted demographic groups, social institutions, and international organizations. The image of the city exists at several levels of understanding: domestic, socio-economic, financial, etc.

The main target groups for city marketing are its inhabitants, businesses, and prospective tourists. In other words, it is the city's residents and nonresidents, as well as physical and legal entities. They are consumers of the city. Actors who define how the city is marketed include:

- governing bodies and high-ranking officials;
- organizations dealing with infrastructure;
- organizations dealing with life support;
- organizations dealing with recreation and entertainment

More specifically, the primary actors in city marketing are: heads and administrations of cities, territorial administrations of Antimonopoly committees and other regional representations of the federal government and regional and local support agencies for small businesses and commercial and industrial chambers of commerce, ; agencies and funds supporting business development, business centers, exhibition centers, tourist and hotel networks, educational and business centers; interregional and city marketing centers; and various representatives of the city outside its territory.⁴⁹

The price of the city as a "good" is to be understood as the city's price in the mind of its consumers. Its size and structure essentially depend on what target group will calculate it and on what kind of costs will be incurred by consumers.

⁴⁸ Панкрухин, А.П. Имидж Москвы: динамика и ресурсы развития / А.П. Панкрухин // Имиджеология-2004: состояние, направления, проблемы. – М., 2004. С. 109.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

For inhabitants of the territory, there is the cost of living, income level, pensions, social benefits, and also the cost of concrete goods and services in the territory.

For tourists it is the cost of travel and the sum of daily expenses.

For corporate clients (business people) it is: transportation costs, meal and incidental expenditures, project costs (including building materials and raw equipment, platform preparation, construction costs, and tax benefits), the level of favorable conditions for business, and the level of company involvement in city life.⁵⁰

The city, as well as any territory, can have four basic marketing strategies which are theoretically separated from each other but which in practice are realized in tandem, only with differing degrees of expressiveness and priority. These marketing strategies comprise image, attractiveness, infrastructure and staff.

1. Image marketing. Image marketing serves primarily to create, develop and distribute a positive image of the territory, ensuring public recognition thereof. In comparison with other directions, this strategy is inexpensive, although it does require certain specific expenditures. The main instruments of image marketing are communication actions which demonstrate the openness of the territory for contacts and which allow external subjects to more easily recognize it.

2. Attractiveness marketing. Its essence is to increase the attractiveness of the territory for a given individual. Creating a sense of attractiveness for a territory can be achieved through improving coastlines, creating pedestrian areas, museum districts, historical and/or commercial zones, and developing architecture, culture, and sports. The more well-known sights marketers create, the more successful the model. But any point of interest in the territory can't be just one object of attention in regional marketing. Complex design of the territory as a whole increases its attractiveness, uniqueness, and aesthetic advantages. But if the region has no points of interest, certainly, it is necessary to create them.

3. Infrastructure marketing serves a major and long-term plan and is the most stabilizing element of region marketing of the region, as infrastructure is the basic framework for the region. Its essence is to increase the territory's attractiveness for business. Reliable energy supply, good education, potable water, communications development, and visible law enforcement are signs of supported infrastructure. Its existence doesn't guarantee regional growth, but its absence or low quality makes such growth impossible.

4. Staff marketing staff is aimed at providing support for marketing activities within the region. It works with territory residents, associations, unions, and politicians. The challenge here

⁵⁰ Панкрухин, А.П. Имидж Москвы: динамика и ресурсы развития / А.П. Панкрухин // Имиджеология-2004: состояние, направления, проблемы. – М., 2004. С. 111-112.

is twofold: forming local patriotism and maintaining friendly interactions with inhabitants of other regions to attract them to the target region. Unfriendliness to visitors or negatives view about residents and businessmen from other territories can bring all efforts to naught. In other words, the attitude of inhabitants is also an important part of the city as a commercial product.

Marketing approaches can be implemented to virtually all sectors of a city: the economy, transportation, education, tourism, etc. To some extent, a territorial marketing agency can represent the chambers of commerce, regional antimonopoly control centers for entrepreneurship promotion, and other structures, implementing the principle of partnership between the public and private sectors.

Success in forming an image of the territory depends primarily on how well the image is consciously formed by the subject and how well it will correspond to objective, empirical characteristics, on the one hand, and to expectations and demands from the consumer (or tourist, investor, or migrant), on the other hand.

1.5 The structure of the city's image

The city's image consists of the following components:

- the status of the city
- the look of the city,
- the soul of the city,
- urban folklore,
- stereotypes about the city,
- urban mythology
- emotional connection with the city (i.e. emotions, feelings, experiences, expectations, and hopes associated with the city. - all parts of a city's image are permeated by emotional connections)
- municipal symbols (the city's name, flag, coat of arms, flag, motto, anthem, etc.)

Images of various cities are saturated with each of these components to various degrees, and their stability depends on it.

The status of the city.

The status of the city is the city's place in various hierarchies and rankings of other cities: this corresponds to the city's degree of development and its role in the economic, political, and cultural life of the country. The status of the city is determined by the city's potential and

resources (informational, financial, human resources etc.)⁵¹, including external relations with other cities and countries.

The sight of the city.

The sight of the city is understood as its appearance: its architecture, natural features, location, cleanliness, road illumination, etc. The face of a modern city is less dependent on its natural landscape; if the image of a small country towns is inseparably linked with its environmental surroundings and landscape, in megalopolises "artificial nature"⁵² - fountains, flower beds, channels, cut lawns – becomes more important.

Researchers note that the appearance of the city is perceived and experienced differently by different people. An individual can be a marginal spectator and perceive the city from the outside, in which case his or her esthetic perception of the urban environment can be considered "disinterested contemplation".⁵³ But the individual can also position him or herself inside the side. For such an observer all feelings received from all the senses are equal in importance and meaning. Thanks specifically to such an esthetic perception of the city; it is possible to say that the complete look of a city is created not only by the architect, but also by the viewer.⁵⁴

People structure city space differently. It depends on their status in the city – i.e. the position of the individual or group defined by signs or roles in the city (for example, long-term resident, motorist, and pedestrian)⁵⁵ and/or their place of residence and duration of their stay in this city. To understand the structure of city space it is necessary to address Kevin Lynch's theory of visual perception of the city. He outlined the main elements by which people like to build the "framework" of the city in their consciousness. Such elements are paths, edges, districts, nodes, landmarks. These elements are universal as they occur in many types of images.

1. Paths are the channels along which the observer customarily, occasionally, or potentially moves. They may be streets, walk-ways, transit lines, canals, or railroads. For many people, these are the predominant elements in their image. People observe the city while moving through it, and along these paths other environmental elements are arranged and related.⁵⁶

⁵¹ Абышева, Ю.Ю. Разные целевые группы в одной программе как источник конфликта (на примере продвижения идеи столичности в Нижнем Новгороде / Ю.Ю. Абышева // Нижний Новгород в историко-культурной традиции России: Материалы VI международной научно-практической конференции по региональной культуре (22 сентября 2004 г.) – Н. Новгород, 2005. С. 66.

⁵² Oswald Spengler. *The Decline of the West.*, 2000– p. 789

⁵³ Трушина, Л.Е. Образ города и городской среды: автореф. дис... канд. филос. наук / Л.Е. Трушина. – СПб., 2000. С. 13

⁵⁴ Дмитревская, Н.Ф. Образ города как социальный феномен / Н.Ф. Дмитревская. – СПб., 1999.С. 117.

⁵⁵ Дмитревская, Н.Ф. Образ города как социальный феномен / Н.Ф. Дмитревская. – СПб., 1999.С. 103, 118.

⁵⁶ Lynch, Kevin, *The Image of the City.* – М., 1982. p. 51, 54.

2. Edges are the linear elements not used or considered as paths by the observer. They are the boundaries between two phases, linear breaks in continuity: shores, railroad cuts, edges of development, walls. They are lateral references rather than coordinate axes. Such edges may be barriers, more or less penetrable, which close one region off from another; or they may be seams, lines along which two regions are related and joined together.

3. Districts are the medium-to-large sections of the city, conceived of as two-dimensional, which the observer mentally enters "inside of". Most people structure their city to some extent in this way, with individual differences as to whether paths or districts are the dominant elements. It seems to depend not only upon the individual but also upon the given city.

4. Nodes are points, the strategic spots in a city into which an observer can enter, and which are the intensive foci to and from which he is traveling. They may be primarily junctions, places of a break in transportation, a crossing or convergence of paths.

5. Landmarks are another type of point-reference, but in this case the observer does not enter within them; they are external. They are usually a rather simply defined physical object: building, sign, store, or mountain. Their use involves the singling out of one element from a host of possibilities.⁵⁷

None of the element types isolated above exist in isolation in real cases. Districts are structured with nodes, defined by edges, penetrated by paths and sprinkled with landmarks. Elements regularly overlap one another.

The look of the city also serves as a guide in public spaces, so it has certain qualities:

- Self-sufficiency;
- Cleanliness;
- An ability to operate with the environment;
- Security (minimizing the risk of error);
- Openness, adaptability to change;
- Transferability to other people.

The sight of the city may differ not only by the scale of area involved, but also by the observer's viewpoint, the time of day, or the season.

Another distinction can be made between concrete, sensuously vivid images and those which are highly abstract, generalized, and void of sensuous content. Thus, the mental picture of a building might be detailed, involving its shape, color, texture, and specific features, or be relatively abstract, the structure being identified as a "restaurant" or "the third building from the corner."

⁵⁷ Lynch, Kevin, *The Image of the City*. – M., 1982.. p. 51-52.

For most people, paths are paramount elements, although their importance widely varies depending on the degree of knowledge of the city. Those who poorly know the city comprehend it through large areas. Those who know the city better have mastered at least certain path structures. Those who know the city are able to identify local landmarks. Different observers have differing views of a space's population saturation or density, i.e. its various defining characteristics. If the main elements of the city do not have enough recognition, they can easily be confused among themselves, and the entire visual image of the city thus becomes unclear.⁵⁸

The soul of the City

The soul of the city is a broad concept, like the image of the city, which requires careful analysis. The soul of the city only includes connections between various components of urban culture.

Theorists treating this subject include N. P. Antsiferov, M. S. Kagan, and O. Spengler. They approach the description of the soul of the city from different positions, but their theoretical calculations don't contradict each other.

Antsiferov made the first global attempt to comprehend the city as a synthesis of material and spiritual values, to comprehend its "soul, which he understood as the "historically manifest unity of all aspects of the city's life (forces of nature, its population's activity, the growth and character of its architectural landscape, its participation in the general life of the country, the spiritual life of its citizens)".⁵⁹

M. S. Kagan identifies the soul of the city with a unique style of culture, with its originality. He writes that the «soul of the city exists not only in his architectural "body", but also in the spiritual world, along with the psychology, behavior, and creative activity of its inhabitants».⁶⁰

Based on these authors' definitions of the soul of the city, it is possible to list the main characteristics of this concept, utilizing which it will be possible to craft a more complete definition. The features characterizing the soul of the city treat:

-Integrity. The soul of the city represents the unity of all aspects of city life: its natural surroundings, its architecture, its "soul" and feel, the psychology, behavior, and creative activity of inhabitants, its residents' lives, its role in the life of the country, etc.

⁵⁸ Lynch, Kevin, *The Image of the City*. – М., 1982.. p. 53, 55, 84.

⁵⁹ Анциферов, Н.П. Душа Петербурга/ Н.П. Анциферов. [Обращение к документу: 1 ноября 2012]. Доступ через <http://belolibrary.imwerden.de/books/Antsiferov/antsyferov_peterburg.rar>.

⁶⁰ Каган, М.С. Град Петров в истории русской культуры / М.С. Каган. – СПб., 1996. С. 8.

- Uniqueness. The soul of each city is unique and different, due to the fact that the various connections and relationships between components of city culture create an integral city style.⁶¹

- Stability. Despite changes in various living conditions and architectural styles, the soul of the city remains the same.⁶²

- Development in historical process. The soul of the city is shown in history by means of culture, which reveals the city's possibilities. But once all possibilities are disclosed, the soul dies.⁶³ According to O. Spengler's concept, only one kind of settlement has a soul: cities. The village as a collection of separate farms has no soul. All great cultures were cities. Earliest cultures correspond to the earliest cities.

- Steady position in the culture of the nation. The soul of the city as a unique cultural style is a specific manifestation of national culture.⁶⁴

- Existence of a city's special language. N. P. Antsiferov refers to city names as city language. With their aid it is possible to discuss city topography, location, history, heroes, industry, ideas and tastes. They also define the city's style, such as its architectural structures, legends, and gardens.⁶⁵

- Inhabitants' identification with the city. The resident now has two lives – one inside the city and another outside.

On the basis of these features it is possible to construct a more complete definition of the soul of the city. The soul of the city is the historically manifested integral unity of all aspects of the city, generated independently of previously held notions about it, invariable in its essence and not reduced to the sum of the components, which is expressed in unique style of culture of the city (which is in turn a part of national culture).

Researchers of the soul of the city offer the following methods to identify it:

Method 1. Sightseeing tour. The tour shouldn't be reduced to the main sights of the city. Each monument, each place in the city should be a source of not only knowledge, but also of an esthetic impression and a moral experience. When developing an excursion itinerary, a thorough knowledge of the city's history and topography as well as a close acquaintance with a city's image and soul are necessary. Excursions promote the gradual conquest of the city. NP

⁶¹ Каган, М.С. Град Петров в истории русской культуры / М.С. Каган. – СПб., 1996. С. 8.

⁶² Oswald Spengler. The Decline of the West., 2000, – p. 781.

⁶³ Oswald Spengler. The Decline of the West., 2000, – p. 786.

⁶⁴ Каган, М.С. Град Петров в истории русской культуры / М.С. Каган. – СПб., 1996. С. 14.

⁶⁵ Анциферов, Н.П. Душа Петербурга/ Н.П. Анциферов. [Обращение к документу: 1 ноября 2012]. Доступ через <http://belolibrary.imwerden.de/books/Antsiferov/antsyferov_peterburg.rar>.

Antsiferov writes that a well-conducted tour can « release the soul from the material cover of the city, in the subsoil of which it is hidden». ⁶⁶

Method 2. City contemplation from a high point. To comprehend the soul of the city a single glance at its surface is necessary. Professor IM Graves recommends starting the "conquest" of the city with a visit to any tower. In short, an analyzing and synthesizing – bird's eye view gives the most important results: the city is perceived as a «non-human creature «with which a superficial acquaintance is established. At this stage we can also say that the city's personality is assimilated, even if it is in the most generalized terms.

Even here we can sometimes establish what kind of city we have on hand. . For example, there are those which arise spontaneously and develop freely, like a forest. The roots of such cities go so deep that historians and other researchers are not always able to deconstruct the mysterious myths surrounding these cities. Or it is one of those cities which were created in an already developed culture, brought to life by the demands of the nation, similar to a park with repaired avenues.

However, as N. P. Antsiferov recognizes, this method is suitable only for superficial exploration of the city and can only initiate the disclosure of the city's soul. ⁶⁷

Method 3. Reading literature about the city. This method allows us follow the impression which the city's soul made on creators of works of art. This method was chosen by NP Antsiferov and partly by MS Kagan to reveal the soul of St. Petersburg.

Any path to knowing the soul of the city should be accompanied by an internal emotional experience of the city's image. Not everyone is capable of understanding the soul of the city. Cognition of the soul is also partly cognition of one's self. The knowledge is partly self-knowledge as the city exposes itself only to those who were its residents and who participated in its life, having become elements in the city's complex whole.

Urban Folklore

Urban folklore is part of a nation's recorded, oral traditions and creative endeavors which occurs in the city. ⁶⁸ The concept of urban folklore is sometimes identified with the concept of post-folklore, i.e. a new kind of folklore which arises in the city; its contents are developed following folkloric patterns, but it does not fit under the formal definition of folklore.

⁶⁶ Анциферов, Н.П. Душа Петербурга/ Н.П. Анциферов. [Обращение к документу: 1 ноября 2012]. Доступ через <http://belolibrary.imwerden.de/books/Antsiferov/antsyferov_peterburg.rar>.

⁶⁷ Анциферов, Н.П. Душа Петербурга/ Н.П. Анциферов. [Обращение к документу: 1 ноября 2012]. Доступ через <http://belolibrary.imwerden.de/books/Antsiferov/antsyferov_peterburg.rar>.

⁶⁸ Фольклор // Кравченко, С.А. Социологический энциклопедический русско-английский словарь. – М., 2004. С. 469.

City folklore is one of the most unexplored subjects in the history of Russian culture. People began to systematically study urban folklore only in the twentieth century.

The difference between urban and rural traditional folklore is, according to research, reflected most often in the difference between written and oral traditions. A widespread point of view is that city folklore is the same as traditional country folklore but that it has been "spoiled" by urban culture. Qualitative differences between urban and rural folklore can be seen in changes in the collective consciousness of citizens, which are connected with the increase in urbanization and with the emergence of new cultural needs for the majority of the urban population.

There are different points of view regarding when urban folklore emerged as an independent phenomenon. But seeing that the emergence of urban folklore is directly related to changes in urban residents' collective consciousness precipitated by an increase in urbanization, it is necessary to recognize that in the 1860s and 1870s and, moreover, throughout the entire eighteenth century, the urban saturation in Russia was low. While it is true that the pace of urbanization in the second half of the nineteenth century in Russia was comparable to that in European countries, the qualitative differences between town and country were not high enough to modify the population's values system and catalyze the emergence of a new type of industrial culture. These differences became acute enough at the turn of the twentieth century.

Urban folklore is a product of the transition from traditional to industrial society and culture, a phenomenon typical for overcoming the crisis caused by cultural shifts. The bearers of urban folklore are lower urban classes who are a complex and heterogeneous social community within which there is inevitably a collision of several cultural traditions, norms, and samples.

City folk art as opposed to country folk art is characterized by professionalization. The fair artist, the entertainer, the circus artist – these are all professions with permanent income: «Folkloric creativity, having transformed into a profession, gradually penetrates all public life of the city, gradually replacing collective creativity." A characteristic feature for the city is its embrace of folkloric creativity and entertainment, which promotes commercialization. A sign of this is the emergence of advertising, which means a fight for spectators and consumers.

Urban folklore strongly differs from patriarchal, rural folklore, its predecessor. Above all, it is ideologically marginal, as the basic ideological needs of citizens are satisfied in other ways (through popular literature, cinema, mass media products, and other products), and it does not have a direct relationship to oral traditions. In addition, urban folklore - in contrast to rural folklore - is fragmented according to its bearers' social, professional, clan, even age status, which is emphasized by the lack of an underlying foundation exposing a united world outlook.

However it is possible to note two opposing processes in the city. The first one is characterized by a tendency to form "closed" traditions which are generated by an increased need

for self-identification among community members aspiring to cultural isolation. It leads to the emergence of specific cultural codes and texts prevailing within these communities. These communities include professional associations, criminal clans, informal groups of young people, and others. The second process is connected with the inevitable fluidity of social cells - naturally, it is unequal throughout different sectors of society and during different historical periods. Such permeability predetermines the circulation of oral works far from the environment which generated them. Here it is necessary to refer to the ease and speed by which urban folklore texts are distributed across the country in both oral and written forms. The availability of modern means of communication allows individuals to duplicate and disseminate not only lyrics, but also performances.

Urban folklore, as opposed to traditional folklore, doesn't contain any mythological or historical meanings, nor does it possess the artistic elegance of a fairy tale or an old folk song, but it does, however, look rough and stylistically careless, as though it were made hastily.

However, this does not mean that improvisation loses its importance in the performance of urban folklore. On the contrary, improvisation has become increasingly important in a wide variety of genres, as it has come to signify an artist's degree of professionalism.

There are several levels in the structure of urban folklore:

1. Citywide layer.

- 1.1. Folklore correlating with the traditions of certain subcultures and generated by aspects of their life.

- 1.2 Other folklore existing in different cities and coinciding with "non urban" folklore (public rumors and gossip, stories about supernatural phenomena, etc.)

2. Urban folklore as a set of texts about a specific city

- 2.1 Folklore about the city's history, population and physical contents. Bearers can be either residents or non-residents, depending on how the text's function changes. If bearers of this folklore are residents, then texts serve social and adaptive purposes and also increase the status of the city. They are told to promote "love of the native land" and to familiarize others with known cultural values. With their help, a certain image of the city is created. The senior generation of citizens transfers these subjects to younger generations, older residents – to new settlers, and locals – to nonresidents. This type of text becomes topical during educational conversations and activities, excursions, conversations with guests of the city, and in other spheres. The main genres of this kind of folklore are stories and legends. Nonresident performers change their stories' functions. The sphere is narrowed. Texts help create opinions of foreign cities. Sometimes certain subjects connected with a given city are known better outside the city. Such genres primarily include rumors and gossip.

2.2 Actual city folklore. These are texts «for themselves» and «about themselves». Bearers are only residents of the concrete city and those whom residents have initiated into these texts. . They aren't connected with the image of the city and therefore, as a rule, they aren't extended outside of the city.⁶⁹ This literature more often seeks to «strengthen borders», rather than «prompt bridges». Without special explanations, these texts aren't clear for residents of other cities.

City traditions generate their own texts, elaborating them in oral and written forms, as both channels of communication are closely intertwined. These texts are connected with the emergence of mass culture.

Post-folklore primarily includes: written folklore (graffiti, diaries), city songs, rumors, gossip, phrase logical clichés, anecdotes, chastushki, stories and, to less of an extent, legends.

Anecdotes, or short funny stories, form one genre of urban folklore usually disseminated by word of mouth. More often than not, an anecdote has an unexpected semantic resolution at the end, which also gives rise to laughter. Anecdotes do not have to be humorous. They can be a plays on words or associations that require additional knowledge: social, literary, historical, geographical, etc. Anecdotes cover almost all spheres of human activity. Their contents are regenerated every so often so that old subjects frame new subjects reflecting current realities and situations. Moreover, new jokes use not only new topics, but also previously unknown methods of construction. In general, urban anecdotes of the twenty-first century are so different from "classic" folklore" and from «historical" jokes of previous centuries that it is probably appropriate to speak about them as a new, distinct genre.

At the end of the last century the chastushka, simultaneously belonging to both rural and urban traditions, attracted the attention of scholars. In academic circles chastushki left strong impressions, and voices were divided into "supporters" and "opponents", differently explaining the origin and genesis of the genre: the city "evil" which made its way into the village, or, on the contrary, a new type of rural poetry transformed in and by urban conditions. However, nobody could deny the folkloric traits of chastushki.

A similar situation occurred with the city romance, which was more often found in the repertoire of rural performers. But eventually the chastushka and the city romance were recognized as folkloric genres, the birthplace of which was not the village, but rather the city.

⁶⁹ Разумова, И.А. Несказочная проза провинциального города / И.А. Разумова // Современный городской фольклор. – М., 2003. С. 544-545.

Perhaps rumors and gossips are the most significant, influential part of urban folklore. Rumors serve to fill the information vacuum, validating or denying a fact. Gossip seeks to interpret facts according to traditional representations.⁷⁰

Rumors can be conditionally subdivided into messages that announce a true fact and a premonition. They can be positive, neutral, or negative. The last category obviously prevails. Such is the case in the very generic nature of rumors which, according to researchers, «have a natural tendency to underline negative qualities». Information containing a negative component has a higher chance of survival.

A story is «a subject and poetic epic narration in prose which, sometimes with a certain degree of fiction, tells about bygone events, real historical persons, and also explains an origin of many place names».⁷¹

Stories are divided into two categories: historical and toponymical. The first type of stories relates memorable historical events involving historical characters. The second tells about the origins of geographical objects and settlements, about the basis of settlements, about barrows, about anthropomorphized rivers. Historical stories are often simultaneously toponymical and historical when they explain the origin of geographical names.

A legend is a «story meant to strengthen religious faith, based on national-Christian views and including a "miracle".⁷² Based on their plots, legends are classified into the following groups: legends about the origins of the animal and plant worlds, legend with religious plots, stories about punishments and rewards for malicious and good people respectively, legends about destiny and death, socio-utopian legends, and legends about historical events and persons.⁷³ Only legends belonging to the last category are connected with images of the concrete city. Similarly, they also fuse fictional and supernatural motives together with actual historical facts.⁷⁴

Thus, at the turn of the twentieth century's, in connection with the emergence of a new urban culture and industrial society, city folklore arose as a unique phenomenon which has become the result of cultural crises and cultural changes. Urban folklore has its roots in rural folklore and in the trends caused by socio-cultural changes in mass culture.

During this period, urban folklore gradually loses qualities typical of traditional rural culture and turns into a spectacle in which some people actively participate and in which others

⁷⁰ Разумова, И.А. Несказочная проза провинциального города / И.А. Разумова // Современный городской фольклор. – М., 2003. С. 554.

⁷¹ Легенды и предания земли Нижегородской: Учебное пособие. – Н.Новгород, 2001. С. 10.

⁷² Разумова, И.А. Несказочная проза провинциального города / И.А. Разумова // Современный городской фольклор. – М., 2003. С. 552.

⁷³ Легенды и предания земли Нижегородской: Учебное пособие. – Н.Новгород, 2001. С. 8-10.

⁷⁴ Разумова, И.А. Несказочная проза провинциального города / И.А. Разумова // Современный городской фольклор. – М., 2003. С. 552.

observe. This spectacle takes on other laws of development different than those observed in rural environments; it gradually transforms into professional art.

Stereotypes about the city

The social stereotype is considered to be a rather stable and simplified image of a social object, such as a group, person, event, phenomenon, etc. It usually develops when information is lacking, following generalized personal experience or often biased representations in society. The social stereotype isn't always exact. Arising in conditions of limited information about object, the stereotype can be false and carry out a conservative or even reactionary role, distorting people's knowledge and seriously harping interpersonal interactions. However, it is widely used by people as a means to simplify and facilitate the learning process. The term «social stereotype» was first coined by the American journalist and political scientist U.Lippman in 1922 in the book "Public opinion" to designate preconceived opinions and representations.

The social stereotype exists as the product of an individual and his or her social interactions. Accordingly, social groups are the main bearers of social stereotypes, following the opinion of sociologists. Social stereotypes reveal themselves through the stereotypes of individuals as social actors.

The main feature of a stereotype is the emotional saturation which is defined by a standard of something "due", which actually serves as the basis of assessment. Such a standard is defined by society and takes the form of values and norms.

Urban stereotypes fix the relations between inhabitants, as they are part of a city's consciousness and express the city's character. Changes of a city's stereotypes occur very slowly and are caused by relationships between national and ethnic groups.

Social stereotypes about the city can be called a set of inhabitants' simplified, standardized, stable, often biased and emotionally-intense generalizations and views, which don't allow room for doubt yet allow one to perceive social objects according to a pre-existing template and to expectations.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ См.: Стереотип // Большой толковый социологический словарь (Collins). В 2-ух т. Т. 2 (П-Я). – М., 1999. С. 296; Стереотип социальный // Кравченко, С.А. Социологический энциклопедический русско-английский словарь. – М., 2004. С. 416; Стереотипы // Аберкромби, Н. Социологический словарь / Н. Аберкромби, С. Хилл, Б.С. Тернер. – М., 2000. С. 321-322; Шихирев, П.Н. Стереотип социальный / П.Н. Шихирев // Российская социологическая энциклопедия. – М., 1998. С. 538.

In her attempt to classify stereotypes, L.Guslyakova identified five bases for their typology.

1. Orientation, or degree of adequacy of stereotypes. We can speak about true and false stereotypes ("positive" and "negative"). The "positive" stereotype is one which has the possibility to become grounded in reality and which has the ability to generalize, synthesize, and concentrate. At the heart of such stereotypes lies common sense. "Negative" stereotypes are responsible for a greater degree of conservatism (while conditions change, these stereotypes remain fixed) and overly simplify attempts to assess phenomena and people (seemingly objective statements can betray a variety of prejudices).

2. Subject of formation of stereotypes. Some of them develop subjectlessly, or spontaneously, depending on an individual's experience. Such stereotypes are sufficiently stable in most conditions and are generally similar to each other, playing with feelings of sympathy and antipathy. They can often be narrowly personal or, on the contrary, very wide; they can even be neutral and firmly rooted in tradition.

Other stereotypes are formed deliberately as the result of the influence of various factors: ideological, cultural, national, etc. They have a rather specific orientation. 3. Object of stereotypification. Stereotypes can be directed towards a certain individual, representatives of a certain group, or the entire group altogether. Consequently, we can speak about individual, group, and mass stereotypes. The first ones are formed during a unique life experience under the influence of the most varied and often random factors.

Group stereotypes include firmly entrenched repetitive images, which are separated and reproduced by any member of a socially organized group. Mass stereotypes are of particular interest. They can belong to representatives of any class and nationality. They can take various forms and exist even when the creators of stereotypes is anonymous.

4. Sphere of manifestation of stereotypes. There are stereotypes of thinking (by way of stereotype-images and stereotype-evaluations) and behavior. Stereotypes-images sometimes act in the form of ideological constructions in which the consciousness of the individual, group, or society is brought in line with preconceived attitudes on various social, political, and/or economic phenomena, processes, leaders, and entities. The stereotype of behavior is a system of behavioral skills which are passed down from one generation to another by heredity, and are specific to each social collective and community. The stereotype of behavior develops while a group adapts to its environment.

5. Functional value of stereotypes. Here it is possible to identify two categories: creative and destructive. These are stereotypes in which a creative or destructive model of behavior can

be found. Some people form a certain plan of action according to the accepted representations and images which support the integrity of the group; others, on the contrary, destroy it.

Social stereotypes are quite steady. As they provide a certain direction for interpretation and memory, they force people to "find" proofs to support them even if they don't exist. Therefore stereotypes are steady against changes. They also live, in part, because of the support of mass media.⁷⁶

Urban Mythology

The myth of the city is emotionally cast and somehow resonant collective and individual representations about the city's history, life activity, residents and urban space which are pertinent for bearers of these myths. In this myth, the city is thought as a complete, "live" and cultural organism which is perceived as true but which cannot be proved by logic. .

By "a city's myths" we sometimes mean a widespread delusion about various objects found in the city. A mythologization of the urban space is an inevitable feature of the city's culture; here, residents "tame" their habitat and introduce the "human dimension" into the urban landscape.

Urban myths play an important role in people's consciousness; through them we experience time, the world, and city history based on a feeling of commonality. As such, the myth creates a certain reality and reveals it through special images which make sense to people living in the same city.

Myths of the city have the following characteristics:

1. Variability. Each historical period has its own myths. "Myths change, absorbing modernity and new views of the world, and thanks to this process they remain modern."⁷⁷
2. Mobility of meanings.⁷⁸ This property means various, sometimes opposing, values accorded to objects and their properties in different myths from different periods of time.
3. Gradual appearance. Thanks to the emergence of myths at different times, their modern diversity was created. If all myths appeared at a certain time, collective memory would keep only the brightest of them.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ David. Myers. Social Psychology ., 1998. p. 449-471.p. 459.

⁷⁷ Дмитревская, Н.Ф. Образ города как социальный феномен / Н.Ф. Дмитревская. – СПб., 1999 С. 70.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

4. There are objects and properties which are classified as uncertain. For example, such qualities as a city's greatness or beauty can't be precisely defined, and for each person it means represents something subjective.
5. Ability to influence the creation of reality.
6. Ability to influence the people's feelings and creative work.
7. According to this property of urban mythology, everything that treats objects directly related to human environments – the city, its districts, its streets etc. – is estimated more positively, than similar objects which have no relation to people.⁸⁰

The myth of the city has important functions:

1. Thanks to myths, people have an integral image of the city.
2. The myth offers a special way of understanding the city, pushing rational understanding into the background.
3. Myths create special features of the urban environment.⁸¹
4. Thanks to myths, objective city characteristics can be identified with a certain perception of the city.⁸² A city where residents can see only some part of it (as the majority of it is not visible) is perceived with a considerable degree of imagination.
5. Myths act as one criteria of identification with a group – as an individual shares ideas about the city with some group, he or she starts to identify him or herself with this group.
6. Myths influence human behavior.⁸³

Urban myths are created by people. Myths are often created by outstanding and well-known personalities from the city (poets, writers, artists, politicians, and public figures.) The authors of myths can also be ordinary citizens. Their myths spread in their immediate environment and usually die along with the death of the author. Myths can be created by certain groups. The mass media plays a major role in creating urban myths. People take as truth even inconceivable phenomena when they are covered by the media. Computer and telecommunication technologies become a kind of tool for informational, political and spiritual expansion, the means for creating new social myths. N.B. Kirillova writes that the newspaper has the persuasive power of a document; television presents the real facts in contrast to movies, where there is room for creative license.⁸⁴

Urban myths are created in different ways.

⁸⁰ Дмитриевская, Н.Ф. Образ города как социальный феномен / Н.Ф. Дмитриевская. – СПб., 1999 С. 71.

⁸¹ Равинский, Д.К. Городская мифология / Д.К. Равинский // Современный городской фольклор. – М., 2003. С. 411.

⁸² Дмитриевская, Н.Ф. Образ города как социальный феномен / Н.Ф. Дмитриевская. – СПб., 1999С. 67.

⁸³ Коршунов, Г.П. Миф / Г.П. Коршунов // Социология: Энциклопедия. – Мн., 2003. С. 571-573.

⁸⁴ Кириллова, Н.Б. Медиакультура: от модерна к постмодерну / Н.Б. Кириллова. – М., 2005. С. 144, 192.

Method 1. Constant exposure. Thanks to formal and informal demographic stratification, various worlds are created in the city wherein inhabitants casually hear about each other's life and work. Incomplete, unchecked rumors are disseminated and acquire the status of knowledge. . This constant exposure to facets of each other's lives creates the myth.⁸⁵

Method 2. Bricolage. Citizens gradually develop a system of binary signs which are used to describe semantics (big-small, clean-dirty, prestigious - non-prestigious, beautiful-ugly).⁸⁶

Method 3. Mythologizing of urban space. Residents rethink the value of architectural constructions, urban districts, and places in the city. As a result areas are endowed with special irrational characteristics, such as when they are deemed "good" or "bad." Magical properties are attributed to city objects; as a result, in many cities there are rituals of making wishes in certain places of the city.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Дмитриевская, Н.Ф. Образ города как социальный феномен / Н.Ф. Дмитриевская. – СПб., 1999. – С. 73.

⁸⁶ Дмитриевская, Н.Ф. Образ города как социальный феномен / Н.Ф. Дмитриевская. – СПб., 1999С. 71-72.

⁸⁷ Равинский, Д.К. Городская мифология / Д.К. Равинский // Современный городской фольклор. – М., 2003. С. 411, 414-415.

Chapter 3. Elements of Saint-Petersburg identity.

3.1 Short characteristic of various spheres of St. Petersburg life.

Saint Petersburg is a city of federal significance. It is located in the north-western part of Russia on the east coast of the Gulf of Finland on the river Neva. St. Petersburg, being in the center of maritime crossings, river routes and land highways, is the European gateway of Russia, its strategic center closest to the countries of the European Community. The city is a major economic, historical and cultural center. In terms of population and industrial capacity, it is the second largest city in Russia. The history of St. Petersburg is 310 years old; while it is a relatively young city, but its life has been full of numerous events. The city was founded on May 27, 1703 by Peter I. From 1712 to 1918 it was the capital of the Russian Empire. The city has experienced three revolutions: the uprisings of 1905 -1907, the February bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1917, and the October socialist revolution of 1917. Due to the beginning of the First World War, on the wave of patriotic and anti-German sentiments in 1914, the city was renamed Petrograd. After Lenin's death, on January 26, 1924, it was renamed Leningrad. During the Second World War in 1941-1945, the city experienced a blockade which lasted about 900. On September 6, 1991, the city was re-given its historical name, St. Petersburg.

The city is one of the most prominent geo-economic leaders of Russia, a key knot in implementing economic communication on a global scale. The city has played an essential role in international events throughout its existence. Therefore it is no surprise that the government of Russia places high stakes on St. Petersburg and actively encourages it to reach its full potential.

Such a choice is determined by a number of competitive advantages which St. Petersburg has in relation to other Russian metropolises. It is possible to distinguish the following advantages:

Favorable economical-geographical position. It is a port city located at the intersection of water and overland trade routes. In the city there are a number of major railway and roads connecting it to the central Europe.

The city possesses a successful geographical and strategic position that has promoted prosperity and has rapidly developed trade. The city has quickly turned into an important shopping center.

And, nevertheless, even if it hasn't been the capital of Russian since 1918, St. Petersburg hasn't lost its attractiveness and power and has continued to hold a key economic position, thereby continuing to define the destiny of Russia.

It has the highest innovative potential in comparison with other Russian cities. Among other factors, St. Petersburg is better provided with qualified personnel, and it has much more research institutions. All of this makes the city more competitive, allowing it to reach a high level of economic modernization.

We will now briefly describe the location of St. Petersburg in the demographic, economic, cultural, educational, religious and ecological structure of Russia.

The demographic situation.

St. Petersburg is one of the most densely populated cities in Europe. It is the third largest city in Europe (after Moscow and London), and among European cities which are not capitals, it has the largest population. It is also the northernmost city with a population higher than one million. The population of the city, according to the Federal State Statistics Service, is 5,028,313 people. (2013). Its population density is 3594.22 per km² (2013).⁸⁸ According to the Federal State Statistics Service of the Russian Federation, in 2010 the birth rate was 12.0 per thousand, the death rate - 14.2 per thousand. Life expectancy in St. Petersburg in 2011 was 66.2 years for men and 76.1 years for women⁸⁹.

The economic situation.

St. Petersburg is one of the most important economic centers of the Russian Federation. The cities' Gross Regional Product (GRP) in 2011, according to Committee of Economic Development, Industrial policy and Trade of St. Petersburg, was 1,927 trillion rubles (in 2010 — 1,662 trillion rub)⁹⁰. The city's economy generally relies on industry and tourism. The city's main types of economic activity are: manufacturing industry, wholesale and retail trade, operations with real estate, transport and communication, and construction. The city's financial market is the second-large regional market in Russia. The city has the St. Petersburg Currency Exchange, the Commodity Exchange "Saint-Petersburg", the "Stock Exchange of St. Petersburg", the St. Petersburg Futures Exchange, the Petroleum Exchange "Saint-Petersburg". There are 42 commercial banks (the largest are registered and include: VTB, bank St. Petersburg, KIT Finance, Baltinvestbank, International bank of St. Petersburg) and about 100 branches of banks from other regions, as well as more than 400 finance and broker companies. This main

⁸⁸ Федеральная служба государственной статистики. <http://www.gks.ru/>, last accessed 01.11.2012

⁸⁹ Официальный сайт Администрации Санкт-Петербурга. http://gov.spb.ru/helper/social/soc_vet/o-povyshenii-kachestva-zhizni-pozhilyh-peterburzhc/, last accessed 01.11.2012

⁹⁰ Отчет социально-экономическое развитие Санкт-Петербурга. <http://www.cedipt.spb.ru/upload/files/economics/macro/ot4et%202011%20-%203.pdf>, last accessed 01.11.2012

industry includes more than 700 large and medium-sized enterprises and more than 20,000 small enterprises⁹¹.

According to the results of a yearly rating which the Expert RA Rating agency conducted to show regions' attractiveness for investors, in 2011-2012 St. Petersburg was part of the group of regions with maximum potential and minimum risk. In 2011-2012 St. Petersburg took 2nd place for investment potential and 4th place for minimum investment risk.

Thus, St. Petersburg's risk level is generally lower than the Russian average, it demonstrates insignificant social and financial (2nd place) and a relatively high index for crime risk (41st place) and ecological risk (45th place)⁹².

According to rating agency Moody's Investors, the investment attractiveness of the region in 2011 was estimated as Baa1, i.e. stable, and Standard and Poor's rated the region as stable (BBB), along with Fitch Rating (BBB)⁹³.

Over many years, a Western-style urban environment was created in the city thanks to the presence of foreign capital. As far as Russia is specifically concerned, for foreign businessmen St. Petersburg is a much more habitual place for accommodation and for solving business matters, thanks to the creation of a special microclimate, a favorable disposition and a modern business infrastructure in the city. These factors make St. Petersburg especially attractive for foreign investment and create favorable conditions for the further concentration of economic and cultural activity.

International activities of the city

The city has extensive external relations. In the city days held in honor of foreign cities and countries are periodically held. An important aspect of St. Petersburg's external relations is its cooperation with foreign countries' partner cities and regions. At present, 89 foreign cities and 25 foreign regions have bilateral agreements on cooperation with St. Petersburg, and in the city there are 59th consular institutions of foreign countries⁹⁴.

⁹¹ Банки Санкт-Петербурга. <http://www.banki.ru/banks/st.petersburg/>, last accessed 01.11.2012

⁹² Рейтинговое агентство «Эксперт РА». <http://www.raexpert.ru/ratings/regions/2012/>, last accessed 01.11.2012

⁹³ Паспорт Санкт-Петербурга. <http://gov.spb.ru/static/writable/ckeditor/uploads/2012/06/08/passport.pdf>, last accessed 01.11.2012

⁹⁴ Санкт-Петербург. Справочная информация. http://old.gov.spb.ru/Files/file/KVS/Press-kiti2010/st_petersburg2010%20rus.pdf, last accessed 01.11.2012

Several international organizations are located in St. Petersburg: the Inter-parliamentary Assembly of the CIS, the Information Office of the Council of Ministers of the Nordic countries, and representatives of international funds and unions. In the city there are also international cultural institutions such as the German Goethe Cultural Center, the French Institute, the Institute of Finland, the Dutch Institute, the Danish Cultural Institute, the Israeli Cultural Center, and the Italian Cultural Institute. Foreign Chambers of Commerce and Industry and business centers promoting the expansion of economic cooperation are also present in St. Petersburg.

One of the most effective ways St. Petersburg has developed its international and foreign economic relations has been through its participation in international and regional organizations. St. Petersburg is a member of the Union of Baltic Cities, the “Baltic Metropolis” (the conference of the most important cities of the Baltic Sea), the Organizations of Sub-regional Cooperation of the States of the Baltic Sea, and the Commission on Tourism of the Countries of the Baltic Sea. The city cooperates with intergovernmental organizations, such as the Council of the Baltic Sea and the Nordic Council of Ministers, as well as with the Forum Coastal Regions of Europe, the Baltic Development Forum, and the Association of Chambers of Commerce of the Baltic Region. Since 1998, St. Petersburg has been an associate member of the Association of European cities "Eurocities". In 2009, St. Petersburg joined the European Coalition of Cities against Racism.

The cultural experience.

The city has a rich cultural life. There are many historical monuments, competitions, and festivals.

St. Petersburg is the largest world and Russian cultural center. Unique cultural and historical heritage sites are concentrated in the city. More than 80% of monuments from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are originals. The historical center of St. Petersburg is included in the UNESCO World Heritage List⁹⁵.

Saint Petersburg has significant historical and cultural heritage that provides social stability, harmonizes interethnic and interfaith relations, promotes the fulfillment of creative potential, and fosters the spiritual development of the individual and of society as a whole. Culture makes a powerful contribution to the economic revival of the city, creating workplaces, attracting investments, and developing new branches such as cultural tourism and creative industries

The city has a strong network of cultural institutions: at present the city has 221 museums, 2000 libraries, more than 80 theaters, 100 concert organizations, 45 galleries, 62

⁹⁵ Ibid

cinemas, and 80 clubs, among other figures⁹⁶. Thanks to the Hermitage, the Mariinsky Theatre, the National Library of Russia, the Russian Museum, the Peter and Paul Fortress, and St. Isaac's Cathedral, St. Petersburg is included in the top ten most enticing international cities to visit.

Annually approximately 100 festivals and cultural competitions, including more than 50 international ones, are held in the city. Among them are included: the International Ballet Festival "Mariinsky", the International Art Festival "Stars of the White Nights", the International Winter Festival "Arts Square", the International Ballet Festival «Dance Open», the International Jazz Festival "White Night Swing", the "International Film Festival", and the "Festival of Festivals"⁹⁷.

Culture represents the strategic potential of St. Petersburg as part of the Russian and world economy, as it is a multifunctional city of European standards.

The scientific potential of the city

Saint Petersburg is one of the biggest scientific and educational centers in Russia, and it holds more than 10% of the country's scientific potential. St. Petersburg's human resource potential for science and education comprises more than 170,000 employees of research institutions and universities, including more than 9,000 doctors of science and more than 26,000 doctoral candidates⁹⁸.

The city's educational system is a developed network of pre-school, primary, and secondary general education schools and primary and secondary professional education schools. Additional education for children and adults is characterized by a high level of variability and availability.

The education system of St. Petersburg is a large-scale, geographically diverse system which includes more than 1,909 educational institutions⁹⁹.

Standing of religion

The multi-faith nature of religious observance in St. Petersburg is quite typical for the European part of Russia. St. Petersburg is a city of religious tolerance. Here the Orthodox Church peacefully coexists with sacred spaces of other religions. Therefore, the standing of religion in the city is stable: here, people abide by the principles of freedom of conscience and

⁹⁶ Официальный сайт Администрации Санкт-Петербурга. <http://old.gov.spb.ru/culture>, last accessed 01.11.2012

⁹⁷ Санкт-Петербург, http://www.7travel.ru/regions/overall_performance/, last accessed 01.11.2012

⁹⁸ Правительство Санкт-Петербурга, комитете по науке и высшей школы. <http://knvsh.gov.spb.ru/>, last accessed 01.11.2012

⁹⁹ Паспорт Санкт-Петербурга. <http://gov.spb.ru/static/writable/ckeditor/uploads/2012/06/08/passport.pdf>, last accessed 01.11.2012

tolerance, and for the last decade it has been impossible to find examples of large, unresolved conflicts between the religious and public spheres. The standing of religion in the city is distinguished by a large number of different religious groups, even if the Russian Orthodox Church retains a stronger position.

The environmental situation

The environmental situation is characterized by problems which are rather typical for today's Russia: high noise levels, problems disposing of waste, increased radioactivity, and air and water pollution. Most environmental indicators are close to average for Russia. The region's air pollution level corresponds to the average for Russia.

Thus, the best situations in St. Petersburg are observed in human resources, technology, cultural life, historical preservation, and opportunities for tourism. Problematic components for the city's image include citizens' lack of guarantees for personal security, corruption and crime, and the activity of supervisory authorities.

Based on the summaries of various spheres of activity in St. Petersburg, it is possible to conclude that the city ranks highest in the spheres of culture and education.

3.2 Elements of the image of St. Petersburg: significant events, enterprises, outstanding personalities, sights, myths and legends about the city.

Notable events in the history of St. Petersburg

In this chapter we will try to analyze what think about the image of St. Petersburg its residents. The data in this chapter are based on interviews conducted with residents of St. Petersburg. Interviews captured respondents' descriptions of the city and included questions about how the person views the city; about the most significant historical events in the city, as well as their role in the city and country as a whole; about myths connected with the city etc¹⁰⁰.

Historical events that took place in the city effect its image. Their meaning can be different. They can raise the city status and give impetus to development or they can impair life in the city and become a source of shame. Some events are quickly forgotten, while others are engraved in the collective memory for a long time. The history of St. Petersburg comes alive to citizens in the guise of the following events:

¹⁰⁰ Appendix 2

- The establishment of city
- European Capital
- City floods
- The Decembrist revolts
- The Cradle of Revolution
- Soviet Leningrad
- The Siege of Leningrad
- Construction of the underground
- Crime capital
- St. Petersburg International Economic Forum

Events of the remote past have the greatest impact on a city's image and form its center. People's attitude to these events is generally positive. They are the cause of citizens' pride, as they had the greatest impact on the history of the country. They confirm the important role of specific events in the formation of a city image.

The most prominent event in St. Petersburg's history is the foundation of the city. It is important in the city's history as it is the starting point for its development. Moreover, residents of Petersburg note that the foundation of St. Petersburg as one of Russia's biggest cities of Russia is significant for the whole country as well.

The history of the beautiful city on the Neva River, Saint -Petersburg, originates in 1703, when Peter I founded the Peter and Paul Fortress. The fortress's construction is an extremely important event in the history of St. Petersburg, because in the eighteenth century it made the city unapproachable for enemies and it became a symbol of the birth of the new city on the banks of the Neva. Peter the Great pursued very important strategic aims while founding his city on the Neva. First of all, he wanted to provide a waterway from the Russian Empire to Western Europe. Despite the city's relatively young age, it has seen several historical events. Petersburg was established as a cosmopolitan, multinational city oriented towards the West.

In 1712, the capital was transferred from Moscow to St. Petersburg. St. Petersburg then became an economic, political and cultural center, which it has remained since. For nearly 200 years St. Petersburg was the capital of the Russian empire. It is not for naught that it is still called the Northern capital.

St. Petersburg is considered a cradle of revolution. The first attempt at a coup d'état took place in St. Petersburg on December 26, 1825, an event called the Decembrist Revolt. The main goal of the revolt was to block the work of governmental bodies and to force senators to sign documents which would have reformed Russia's political system.

Educated soldiers and noblemen, who always supported the Russian throne, actively participated in these events. Conspirators tried to abolish autocracy and serfdom. Revolt had the strongest resonance in Russian society, and it considerably affected the social and political life of the country. The Decembrists were the first political opposition movement in nineteenth-century Russia. Decembrist traditions inspired subsequent generations of freedom fighters, many of whom took the Decembrists as the spiritual instructors, and considered themselves their successors.

Next came the Revolutions of 1905 and 1917, which affected the history of the city and the country in several ways. Residents of the city say that in the city various revolutionary events took place - the insurrection of the workers in the factories, anti-war rallies, demonstrations, strikes at industrial plants, the city spurred revolutionary movements and parties. In August 1914, on the wave of anti-German sentiments, the city was renamed Petrograd.

As a result of these revolutions, the socio-political structure of the state was drastically changed. Emperor Nicholas II abdicated the throne, which thus terminated the Romanov dynasty in the country and gave way to the first socialist state of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, with its capital in Petrograd. These major political events of the twentieth century influenced the future course of history, not only in Russia, but also abroad.

In spite of the fact that Petrograd became a cradle of revolution, it also gave rise to a counter-revolutionary movement. In light of this, in March 1918, the Russian capital was transferred from Petrograd to Moscow occurred. It was the last transfer of the capital in the country's history.

Some residents are proud of the city's significant role in the revolutions. However, some citizens speak negatively about the two revolutions' results. They hold that revolutions led to the deterioration of residents' financial standing.

The Siege of the city is not only an emblematic event in the history of the city and of Russia as a whole, but it also inseparably linked with the city's image.

The Siege of Leningrad became the bloodiest blockade in the history of mankind. The historical significance of the defense of Leningrad is huge. Defenders and residents of the city in the blockade selflessly reflected much-stronger Nazi troops. Despite difficulties and hardships, countless victims and losses, hunger and cold, they continued to work. Administrative and child care facilities, printing houses, hospitals, and theaters worked, scientists continued to work, and factories also worked. During the war, even when it was under siege, Leningrad completely changed its daily functions to meet the needs of combat: Leningrad factories began producing shells and mines, and plants started to produce mortar.

The Great Patriotic War had a significant impact on the development of the city as an industrial center. In St. Petersburg (at that time the city was called Leningrad) there were many martial and maritime plants, such as the Kirov Plant, the Izhora and Admiralty plants, the Pnevmatika plant, the Arsenal plant, and the Bolshevik plant . With great effort workers managed to organize collective efforts in the shipbuilding industry. According to locals, the city played a significant role in ensuring victory in the war, producing tanks, armored vehicles, mortars, shells, mines, ammunition and other military equipment. The defense of blockaded Leningrad became a symbol of courage and heroism for the Soviet people.

For its courage, resolve, and unprecedented heroism in the days of heavy fighting against fascist aggressors, the city of Leningrad was awarded the honorary title of "Hero City."

Subway construction also raised the city's status. According to residents, subways are signs of a large, industrially-developed cities, and the construction of a subway in St. Petersburg consolidated such a status for the city. The St. Petersburg subway is the deepest in the world when one examines the average depth of its stations. Many stations have preserved their original architecture. According to residents, the construction of the subway greatly solved its main challenge - to decongest city roads.

Recent efforts at city beautification and building restoration have been noted by many St. Petersburg residents. They have noted the restoration of building facades, monuments, churches, historical places, cinemas, theaters, and museums, as well as the construction of new monuments, churches, and shopping centers. Residents have also observed improvements made to hospitals and stadiums. Residents consider that thanks to these changes, the city has acquired a more "festive" look. It has become more beautiful, cleaner, and cozier. Citizens speak about dramatic changes to the city's appearance and remember that earlier the city was much less well-planned.

City residents believe work on improving the city is being done to promote the idea of the city's capital feel. They also believe that various celebrations are held in the city to attract an increased number of tourists.

In the last years, some shopping centers were opened in the city. Residents consider that shopping centers are a sign of a developed city, bringing it closer to the level of a capital city. Locals note the wide range of products offered to customers in these new centers. They say that citizens have an opportunity to dress well and purchase practically anything, all the while having a good time doing so. Residents also emphasize the importance of shopping centers as local attractions and activities, where there are plenty of entertainment venues.

The large-scale criminal activity in St. Petersburg in the nineties has had a considerable impact on the city's image. At that time, arson and mass killings of scientists, government

officials, and public figures began to fill up the list of criminal activities. Assassinations were a nightmare of the time. Initially such murders generally happened in gangster circles, but then deputies and ministers were systematically eliminated. For some people Petersburg style is personified by the academician Likhachev, for others, by authorities. Due to these the city received the status of Criminal capital.

The annual St. Petersburg international economic forum has the greatest impact on the city's image. The Forum became one of the leading annual international summits concerning economy and business. The Annually Forum is held with the participation of the President of the Russian Federation. Its main audience includes heads of the largest Russian and foreign companies, heads of state, prime ministers, deputy prime ministers, ministers, and local governors. This event considerably has raised the status of St. Petersburg in recent years, making it more famous.

Enterprises and organizations defining the image of St. Petersburg.

While discussing St. Petersburg, we should mention the activity of various enterprises located in the city and its vicinities which have also affected the image of the city. First of all, there are exhibition centers and industrial enterprises such as the automotive industry, the shipbuilding industry, mechanical engineering, machine construction, chemical engineering, printing, and light industry. In addition, regional governing bodies, transport organizations, educational institutions, the food industry, shopping malls, and fast food restaurants also figure on this list. It is no surprise the city has acquired the image of an industrial, administrative and scientific center.

The main industries include more than 700 large and medium-sized enterprises and more than 20,000 small enterprises¹⁰¹.

Heavy industry forms the basis of industry for Saint Petersburg.

In the city there are a lot of major military and civil ship-building enterprises, such as "Admiralty Shipyard", "Baltic Shipyard", and "Severnaya Verf". The largest mechanical engineering enterprises in St. Petersburg include the "Kirov Plant", "Electric power", the "Leningrad Metal Plant", and "Arsenal". Mechanical engineering for transportation is developed at "Vagonmash" (cars for railways and electrocars for subway) and at the St. Petersburg Tram Mechanical Factory. In the city black (Izhora Pipe Mill Company "Severstal") and nonferrous

¹⁰¹ Отчет социально-экономическое развитие Санкт-Петербурга.

<http://www.cedipt.spb.ru/upload/files/economics/macro/ot4et%202011%20-%203.pdf>, last accessed 01.11.2012

metallurgy ("Red Vyborzhets") are developed, as well as facets of light industry including chemical production and printing.

Within the city are automobile plants for Ford, Toyota, General Motors, Scania, Nissan, and Hyundai Motor. Thus, taking into account the location of several auto plants in the city and in the surrounding area, St. Petersburg has acquired the nickname «the Russian Detroit».

St. Petersburg is the largest center for Russian breweries - the city's breweries produce almost one-fifth of all beer in Russia. Russia's largest brewing companies such as "Baltika", the "Heineken Brewery", and the "Stepan Razin Brewery" are located in St. Petersburg. Also in the city one can find food enterprises such as "Petmol", "Parnassus M" meat-packing plants, confectionery plants, fish plants, "Polyustrovo" water plants, and others. In the city there is a Coca-Cola soft-drink plant, a Wrigley plant that produces chewing gum (for example, Orbit), and plants for tobacco companies «Phillip Morris Izhora" and "JTI".

All of these companies have a major impact on the image of Saint Petersburg. Construction of these plants became an important event in the history of St. Petersburg, as it led to the establishment of the city as a major industrial center. Thanks to these products, the city became very significant in the production industry. These enterprises, according to citizens, make the city famous. They are a source of pride for almost all locals. This fact is extremely important for understanding the image of the city, because the assessment of activities of enterprises comprising a main part of a city's image is directly connected with the image as a whole.

The administration of St. Petersburg is mentioned in the context of specific urban activities and of solutions to specific city problems. Residents emphasize the administration's crucial role in organizing mass holidays, reviving historical monuments, renovating the facades of buildings, and other activities. Many people like that St. Petersburg has begun to hold city celebrations – with various activities and competitions with the participation of popular actors. The most important holidays for the city are the anniversary of its foundation, May 9, New Years Day, and Red Sails.

St. Petersburg State University is included in the city's image as an important educational center. Local residents consider it a leading higher education institution not only for the city, but also for the entire country. It raises the status of St. Petersburg as an educational center. They point out its world-famous, high quality education; its high rating amongst Russian universities; its large number of students and teachers; and the fact that this university has produced many outstanding scientists, politicians, and businessmen. Residents are proud of the fact that the city has such a university.

Outstanding personalities of St. Petersburg.

In their stories about the city, residents often mention those outstanding personalities whose life and work is somehow connected with the city. These people are included in the image of Saint Petersburg. Among them are Great Russian rulers, public figures, writers and other creative types, politicians, scientists, and Heroes of the Soviet Union. Various figures from the world of art, music and literature lived in the city throughout St. Petersburg's stint as the capital of the Russian Empire for over 200 years.

A great number of outstanding people have had a considerable impact on the city's image.

These include:

Statesmen: Alexandrov I, Alexander II, Alexander III, Alexander Nevsky, Anna Ivanovna, Apraxin P.M, Bezborodko A.A, Benckendorf A. X., Bestuzhev-Rumin, M.P, Witte S.U, Golitsyn, A.M, Gorchakov A.M, Derzhavin G.R, Dolgorukov, A.A, Catherine I, Catherine II, Matvienko V.I, Menshikov A.D, Mironov S.M, Nabokov D.N, Nesselrode K.V, Nicholay I Pavlovich, Nicholay II Alexandrovich, Paul I, Potemkin G.A, Vladimir Putin, Stolypin P.A, Troubetzkoy I. U.

Commanders, military leaders: Alexander Nevsky, Kutuzov M.I, Suvorov A.V.

Writers and poets: Akhmatova A.A, Belinsky V.G, Bergholz O., Block A.A, Vyazemskij P.A, Hippius 3.N. Goncharov I.A, Granik D.A, Gumilev N.S, Dal V.I, Derzhavin N.S, Dovlatov S.D, Dostoevsky F.M, Yesenin S.A, Zhukovsky V.A, Zoschenko M., Karamzin N.M., Krylov I.A, Kuprin A.I, Lermontov M.U, Lomonosov M.V, Nabokov V.V, Nekrasov N.A, Ostrovsky A.N, Pikul V.S, Pushkin A.S, Radischev A.N, Ryleev K.F, Saltykov-Shchedrin M.E, Tolstoy L.N, Turgenev I.S, Tyutchev F.I, Fonvisin D.I, Chernyshevsky N.G, Chukovskij K. I. Architects and sculptors Bruni A.K, Briullov A.P, Clodt P.K, Rastrelli B.K, Rastrelli V.V, Rossi K.I, Hue A.A, Ton K.A..

Scientist: Mendeleev D.I, Kovalevskaya S.V

Artists: Briullov K.P, Yuri Vasnetsov, Vereshchagin V.V, Glazunov I., Serov V.A, Ivan Shishkin.

Actors, singers, musicians, composers, conductors: Vladimir Bortko, Mikhail Boyarsky, Butusov N., Volochkova A., Glinka M.I, Grebenshikov B.B, Komissarzhevsky F.F, Kryuchkov S.N, Prokofiev S.S, Rosenbaum A. J., Rimsky-Korsakov N.A, Chaliapin F.I, Shostakovich D.D, Choi V.R.

As any city with a long and fascinating history, St. Petersburg is rich with heroes. These figures of science, art, and politics are inextricably linked to the image of the city. Some of them are known not only in Russia, but also far beyond its borders.

Sights of St. Petersburg.

The image of St. Petersburg depends on city sights and the attitude of its residents. Telling about the city, residents mention different types of sights: natural objects, architectural constructions, monuments, theaters, cinemas, cultural centers, concert halls, planetarium, museums, galleries, exhibition centers, streets, parks, squares and stadiums.

St. Petersburg is one of the most beautiful cities in the world. In spite of its trials, the city has preserved its historical grandeur, uniqueness, and originality, and it is now one of the most attractive Russian cities for tourists from all over the world. Russia's Northern capital rightfully deserved the title of "open air museum." The originality of St. Petersburg is connected to that fact that the most beautiful city in the world is located on the majestic Neva. Ten percent of the city is occupied by rivers and canals, which explains another symbolic epithet given to St. Petersburg: Venice of the North

From its very beginning, St. Petersburg was built by the most talented architects and engineers. Many of the world's best architects, including Russians, took part in constructing Petersburg. Petersburg became not only the administrative and cultural capital of Russia, but also one of the biggest cultural capitals of Europe.

St. Petersburg, one of the most beautiful cities of the world, is a treasury of outstanding architectural monuments, museums, churches and cathedrals.

Petersburg is often called the «Venice of the North », the "cultural capital of Russia", the "city of White Nights", and the "city of secrets." No wonder Petersburg has so many names: in three hundred years it became a major center of world and Russian culture.

It is impossible to enumerate all the city's sights, but some of them include: the well-known White Nights, the magnificent Nevsky Prospekt, the majestic Hermitage, the Peter and Paul Fortress, Palace Square, the Bronze Horseman, the unique bridges of St. Petersburg, the numerous cathedrals and churches located in the city, several museums, and numerous monuments of culture and architecture. There are world famous palace and park complexes, such as Petrodvorets, Pushkin (Tsarskoye Selo), Pavlovsk, Gatchina, and others. In a word, St. Petersburg is not only Russia's European gate to the West and strategic center , but it is also a city of huge cultural traditions, of great imperial history, and of power for modern Russia.

In 1990, St. Petersburg's historical center became part of the UNESCO World Heritage List.

While speaking about the sights of the city, residents underline the uniqueness of these historical monuments, because they are located solely on the territory of St. Petersburg. They are a symbol of the city's rich and long history.

Myths and legends about St. Petersburg.

Long ago, St. Petersburg became the cultural capital of Russia. The city can boast remarkable architecture and a rich history on the basis of which it is possible to discuss the entire country. Nevertheless, historical data are so interesting and mysterious that they sometimes cause city folklore to emerge, i.e. various myths and legends, chastushki, jokes, proverbs, riddles, counting- rhymes, and children's horror stories.

The history of St. Petersburg is so interesting that people constantly try to explain this or that event. Most often their conjectures are improbable, but in history there are always gaps of knowledge which the population can only explain through urban folklore.

The first category of myths and legends about St. Petersburg concerns its foundation. The city is located on the bank of the Gulf of Finland and was often attacked by enemies, therefore many episodes in these myths and legends were taken from the history of those times. However, we should not forget about those numerous emperors whose life and work was connected with St. Petersburg. They also gave an opportunity for several legends and myths to develop, because sometimes their lives ended under mysterious circumstances. Finally, we all know about the numerous monuments which have also become subjects of legends.

Here is a sampling of various legends:

The myth about St. Petersburg foundation.

"On May 16, 1703, during a survey of Zayachy Island Peter I stopped and said: "Here is where the city should stand""¹⁰².

Actually, not the foundation of city, but rather the Peter and Paul Fortress was laid on Zayachy Island. The city appeared later under the fortress's protection on the neighboring island. Some researchers claim that Peter wasn't present at all during the laying of the fortress.

St. Petersburg was founded on uninhabited, empty territory

This legend took roots in citizens' consciousness after it was widely backed by lines from Pushkin's "Bronze Horseman": "On the shore of desert waves"¹⁰³. We imagine the uninhabited empty district covered with wood and bogs. In actuality, there were about forty settlements in one historic district, many of which belonged to Novgorod before the Swedish occupation. Many

¹⁰² Официальный сайт Администрации Санкт-Петербурга. <http://old.gov.spb.ru/history/legends>, last accessed 01.11.2012

¹⁰³ Самые популярные мифы о Санкт-Петербурге, <http://lifeglobe.net/blogs/details?id=485>, , last accessed 01.11.2012

buildings in the future capital appeared in spaces which were already inhabited. Before the emergence of the city there were the settlements, the names of which still remain - Sabirino, Odintsovo, Kukarevo, Maksimovo, Volkovo and Kupchino.

The city's name.

Many people mistakenly believe that St. Petersburg was named in honor of its founder, Peter I. However, this is not so. The city is named after the heavenly patron of the first Russian emperor, the Apostle Peter.

Peter I was baptized on St. Peter's Day. The desire to name the fortress in honor of Peter's heavenly patron was materialized long before the founding of St. Petersburg. The fortress in honor of St. Peter was laid on the Neva River and named St. Petersburg. However, after the St. Peter and St. Paul cathedral was built in the fortress, it was renamed the Peter and Paul Fortress, and the old original name of St. Petersburg was then applied to the entire city.

The city is on a swamp.

The story of how St. Petersburg was founded on a swamp is just fiction. Of course, the city has wetlands, but in reality, in St. Petersburg there are no more swamps than in any other city. The city is not on a swamp, but rather on a huge sandy platform. No wonder that some of city's districts were called «The Sands". As for the wetlands, they were often covered with garbage while the city was constructed. The fact of the matter is that in these landfills there arose specific geochemical processes which made these places unattractive for construction, but swamps had nothing to do with it.

Earthquakes in the city are impossible.

St. Petersburg can experience seismic activity. If somewhere not too far away an earthquake occurs (such as near Kaliningrad, in the Carpathians, or in the north of Lake Ladoga), the seismic waves will reach St. Petersburg. In our unstable, unconsolidated soil, they can create trouble. Therefore, seismic activity in our city is not excluded.

Bridges.

There is a local legend that states that the city holds the world record for its number of bridges. However, this is not so. Germany's Hamburg considerably exceeds other world cities of

the world in this regard. Its 2,300 bridges are more than all the bridges in Petersburg, Venice, and Amsterdam combined¹⁰⁴.

The Bronze Horseman is made of copper.

The Bronze Horseman is a symbol of the city. Alexander Blok once said, "The Bronze Horseman - we are all in the vibration of its copper"¹⁰⁵. However, the monument is not made of copper, but rather bronze and it got its name only after the appearance of Alexander Pushkin's identically-named poem.

The Bronze Horseman, a monument dedicated to Peter the Great, became one of the symbols of St. Petersburg. Since its installation, it has become the subject of many myths and legends.

Floods.

It is considered that the city is more subject to flood than any other city in Russia. For more than two centuries, there has been a widespread opinion that the Neva River is the reason for St. Petersburg's infamous deadly floods. But that is not so. It appears that generally, cyclones are the culprit causing Petersburg's floods, which form a high wave causing water to rise in the Neva. Of more than three hundred floods in the entire city's history, only three were very catastrophic.

Cultural capital

People living in St. Petersburg are more polite and cultural than people living in Moscow.

Petersburg stands on bones.

There is a popular belief that during the construction of St. Petersburg, serf labor was used and many died because of the ruthless exploitation of human resources; the popular belief states that the bones of those who died were buried in the city's foundations.

This legend connected with the foundation of Petersburg was already recorded in the 1730s. According to it, Andrey Pervozvanny, one of the twelve apostles, reached the Neva and

¹⁰⁴ 7 мифов о Петербурге: правда или не правда?, <http://samopoznanie.ru/news/5629/>, last accessed 01.11.2012

¹⁰⁵ Самые популярные мифы о Санкт-Петербурге, <http://lifeglobe.net/blogs/details?id=485>, , last accessed 01.11.2012

Volkhov Rivers. Walking along the shore, he saw a light in the sky, which meant that a city would be established there.

Also, there is a legend that Alexander Nevsky, who was canonized and became the tutelary saint of St. Petersburg, fought a battle where the Saint Alexander Nevsky Lavra now stands; in reality, the battle took place far higher on the river Neva.

Along with royalty, in folklore there are a lot of names of laymen who have become the glory and pride of Petersburg and of all Russia. For example, Alexander Pushkin. He wasn't deprived of attention from official chroniclers, yet folklore was also interested in him. In addition to his authentic biography, his folkloric biography was created by fragments which have come down to us as legends, myths and jokes. There is a large number of legends and posthumous legends about Pushkin. According to one legend, an uncharged gun was slipped to the poet. According to another, Dantes was wearing chain mail under his uniform, and according to another, the poet was killed on purpose, his murder having been prepared in advance all the blame lying on high society.

There are many legends about life of Blessed Xenia of St. Petersburg. On the one hand, she was the unknown wife of a court chorister, yet thanks to a huge number of legends about her, she became an historical figure and was later canonized. Legends about her continue to emerge today, and her mythic life can be traced for more than two centuries. She appears in all crisis moments of St. Petersburg's history as she warns about upcoming danger, heals the sick, rescues the wounded, and helps the poor and suffering. Xenia Chapel at Smolensk cemetery has long been turned into a Mecca of St. Petersburg, and according to one modern legend, she continues to appear in the streets of St. Petersburg today.

After 1917, the St. Petersburg legend lost its inherent positive attributes. There are themes of destruction and terror, danger and anxiety for the fate of the city. There are legends that America offered to buy St. Isaac's Cathedral in exchange for bread for the starving Volga region, or to buy lattice from the Summer Garden as payment for a debt.

In 1941, bombings and artillery fires began, and the food depot was burned. The blockade ring became isolated. Hunger intensified. Everything was falling apart. However, it didn't disturb the emergence of legends. Among some of them: English seamen, who arrived to blockaded Leningrad, once visited a special shop for employees of Smolny. They were surprised when they saw an abundance of high-quality goods meant for communist party leadership. In 1942, some barrels of excellent French wine were found in a cellar in the besieged city which could have saved lives and given health to many blockade survivors. However, according to legend, Zhdanov decided to present this wine to Stalin on Victory Day.

There are a lot of legends connected with underground passageways. Urban folklore also expressed interest in this theme throughout all the history of St. Petersburg. There is an opinion that the general length of these passageways is almost 450 kilometers. According to legend, from the Winter Palace eleven underground tunnels extend to different parts of the city. A network of underpasses is in Kronstadt, Pavlovsk, Peterhof and Tsarskoye Selo¹⁰⁶.

There is a set of legends about the existence of ghosts in St. Petersburg. For example, in Mikhailovsky Castle, people saw the ghost of emperor Paul I. Until now, the inhabitants of Mikhailovsky Castle, in response to the occasional creaking of parquet, to an unexpected knock on the door, or to the sudden rustling of wind, would superstitiously say: "Good morning, Your Majesty."

St. Petersburg has always been shrouded in mystery, palace intrigues, improbable events, and historical tragedies. It isn't a surprise, because for a long time, Petersburg was the capital of the empire and the political center of Russia, and to this day it is the cultural capital of Russia. Scholarly works have been written about St. Petersburg's ghosts, legends, and myths. It is even possible to say that many citizens are proud of the city's secrets.

Thus, highlighting various elements of St. Petersburg's image, it is possible to identify its core. It includes historic events such as the founding of the city by Peter the Great and the Great Patriotic War, enterprises and organizations, outstanding personalities, writers, the city's main sights of the city, and urban myths.

In general, citizens positively assess these elements of the city's image. Residents experience the greatest amount of pride in relationship to events from recent history. St. Petersburg is seen by citizens, first of all, as a city of great historical merits.

The image of the city is multi-faceted and includes a set of events, organizations, outstanding persons, and sights. Therefore, positioning the city, it is important to consider not only elements of its image, but also other elements having an impact on said image.

¹⁰⁶ Синдаловский Н. Мифология Петербурга. Очерки. <http://www.likebook.ru/books/view/149929/>, last accessed 01.11.2012

Chapter 4. What has been done in St. Petersburg to improve its image.

Creating and promoting a positive image for Saint Petersburg is significantly important, as its image largely defines the city's attractiveness for permanent and temporary workers, investors, business partners, and tourists.

In recent years, efforts to improve the image of St. Petersburg have become increasingly active.

The quality of life of St. Petersburg's population has recently notably improved. The concept of quality of life first of all includes the existence of good work and an appropriate salary, guaranteed high-quality health care and social services, good housing, public safety, political stability, educational opportunities, cultural and recreation, and care for the environment.

St. Petersburg actively develops itself as a city open to the world, as a very large international center for business and political-cultural cooperation integrated into the world economy. The city promotes itself as a place where negotiations are held and where important political and decisions are made, such as at high-level consultations, conferences, and forums which have a great influence on the development of the international community.

In the 2000s, the city successfully implemented the s "second capital" strategy. In 2006, St. Petersburg hosted the "Group of Eight" summit, an annual International Maritime Defense Show, the St. Petersburg International Innovation Forum, and the St. Petersburg International Economic Forum. The Interparliamentary Assembly of Member Nations of the Commonwealth of Independent States, the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, the Boris Yeltsin Presidential Library and other international and federal organizations are conveniently located in St. Petersburg¹⁰⁷.

St. Petersburg has also strengthened its role as the cultural capital of Russia by hosting festivals, exhibitions and concerts, many of which have international significance. Tourist attractions in St. Petersburg have increased. This has allowed the city to become one of Europe's leading centers of international tourism.

The city certainly fulfills all international obligations regarding objects within its jurisdiction, and the city is included on the UNESCO World Heritage List. Building facades in old districts with historical import are regularly maintained.

¹⁰⁷ Концепция 20. http://cedipt.spb.ru/concept_2020/2.11.pdf, last accessed 01.11.2012

Some sectors of the city's economy and industry reached significant benchmarks in domestic and global markets.

Automobile plants for such companies as General Motors, Toyota, Nissan, Hyundai, and Scania were constructed in St. Petersburg.

St. Petersburg is also a major Russian commercial and transport hub through which all means of international cargo and passenger transportation pass. In the territory of the city one can find all types of transport infrastructure: highways, railroads, river- and seaways, airports, and oil and gas pipelines.

The reconstruction and expansion of the big port of St. Petersburg, the construction of the ring highway round St. Petersburg, and the construction of the Western High-Speed Diameter became the most important elements in developing the city in this respect. These roads made it possible to decongest the center of St. Petersburg and reduce traffic from cargo trucks. A high-speed railway line to Moscow for passenger and cargo trains, a new airport and terminal to be called "Pulkovo-3," and an adjacent zone of economic development are currently being constructed.

As a result, more than 50% of Russian exports to the European Union and more than 50% of Russian imports from the European Union pass through St. Petersburg. The number of enterprises which are engaged in cargo – such as sorting, packing, and assembling - will increase in St. Petersburg. This sector, along with the transportation industry, provides a major share of revenue for St. Petersburg's economy¹⁰⁸.

A main trend in housing construction over recent years has been the shift from the so-called "point" construction of residential buildings to the complex development of territories that can rationally organize how areas under development are designed and equipped and create a better living environment.

Recently the city opened a significant number of new metro stations, which has since reduced reliance on ground transportation.

All these measures were taken to improve the situation in the city, as well as to improve its status within Russia and abroad. However, these measures are not enough to improve the situation in the city and turn it into one of the major cities of Northern Europe.

The following measures are required to improve the image of St. Petersburg.

¹⁰⁸ Стратегия развития Санкт-Петербурга, <http://www.spb-venchur.ru/regions/4/strategyspb.htm>, last accessed 01.11.2012

First of all the city government should create conditions to increase the inflow of investments, as they are one of the most important determining factors for economic growth and competitiveness. The inflow of investments accelerates the development of enterprises, improves the quality and base of human capital, attracts and stimulates the use of advanced technologies, creates new jobs.

To increase inflow of investments, it is necessary:

- to identify and develop prospective investment projects;
- to reduce administrative barriers, creating a favorable investment environment;
- to increase the availability of information for investors;
- to increase the investment potential of St. Petersburg;
- to create mechanisms providing tax and financial incentives for investments;
- to modernize and develop infrastructure development;
- to implement marketing programs (e.g. to provide information about St. Petersburg in different languages and to provide access to this information through various means, including electronic ones);
- to develop the labor market; and
- to improve legislation on investment activity¹⁰⁹.

It is necessary to turn St. Petersburg into the Russian and, potentially, world center for innovation; because innovations generate profits in the market immediately after they are implemented, they have a fundamental advantage over other types of economic activity.

To improve the city's image it is also necessary for multinational and Russian corporations to place their regional headquarters in St. Petersburg. Activities of Russian and international companies should be controlled from St. Petersburg and Moscow. This will bring considerable financial flows to St. Petersburg and increase the productivity of such branches of the service sector as communications, banking, insurance, consulting, and property management.

It is also necessary to increase the city's attractiveness for foreign tourists. The city should increase the number of cheap hotels, boost the amount of information stands, and raise the availability of public transport.

Saint - Petersburg is one of the most beautiful cities in the world. But, unfortunately, the whole "beauty", "culture" and "magnificence" are concentrated in the city center, and more residential areas lead a separate life; in our opinion, the city should have a single, unified, unique image.

¹⁰⁹ Концепция 20. http://cedipt.spb.ru/concept_2020/2.11.pdf, last accessed 01.11.2012

These residential areas are largely inexpressive buildings constructed in the 1960 - 90's, the appearance of which does not match the spirit of St. Petersburg. In addition, most of these homes, especially "Khrushchyovki," and block houses, were built in a hurry, so even from beginning they didn't correspond to the necessary standard of living. Their main problem is low thermal insulation, and because of thin, non-insulated walls, several cracks have appeared in these homes over the years. Therefore, reconstructing, modernizing, expanding, and developing existing buildings far from the city center is necessary. This will allow St. Petersburg to correspond to the status of a modern capital of culture.

The housing problem exists not only in residential areas of the city, but also in the center. Throughout the entire existence of the city, its central neighborhoods were actively developed and became populated. A large number of city residents live in communal apartments in the city center. In the long term, the risk of "reverse gentrification" for individual neighborhoods in the central part of the city and the disruption of traditional means for building increase. The historic center of St. Petersburg, as a monument of world architecture, is not designed for such a high level of residents, transport, and passenger flow.

It is necessary to increase the quality of housing in St. Petersburg, to increase the variety of urban environments, to provide conditions for creating affordable and comfortable housing, and to reduce and liquidate old and emergency housing.

St. Petersburg has a prestigious and expensive, yet barely functional, historic center. The simultaneous combination of leisure, tourist, business, trade, and communications activities in the center of the city leads to significant congestion and increased costs for routine maintenance. The effectiveness of its use of territory decreases, which does not fully satisfy the needs of the existing population. Available space for tourists does not correspond to the cultural and historical potential of St. Petersburg, which leads to reduced stays in the city and incentives for repeat visits¹¹⁰.

Therefore, a modern business district outside the historical part of the city should be created in St. Petersburg. The business district will be able to reduce the burden on the historical part of the city, and it will also promote the development and value of new territories.

A full-scale development of the modern metropolis is impossible without developing transport infrastructure. A low availability of public transport in the various parts of St. Petersburg leads to traffic congestion in almost all neighborhoods and increases the duration of

¹¹⁰ О Концепции социально-экономического развития Санкт-Петербурга до 2025 года.
<http://docs.cntd.ru/document/8453965>, last accessed 01.11.2012

traffic jams. The task of intra-urban transport infrastructure is to provide peripheral areas of the city with high-speed forms of passenger transport connecting them to the center of St. Petersburg.

It is also necessary to actively develop public transport. The fastest and most convenient way to get to work, school, and recreation areas should be via public transport, especially via subway, tram, bus, and trolley. New routes, stops, metro stations, and lanes for public transport must be created in the city, and advanced transport systems must be introduced. Also, structures allowing people with limited mobility to move comfortably in urban spaces should be created¹¹¹.

It is necessary to create tolls for drivers entering the historical city center, prohibit parking in areas designated for pedestrian traffic, and introduce paid parking along the sidewalks. In the historic center of St. Petersburg, pedestrians and urban transport should become the main sources of traffic. Streets which are traditionally intended for resident and tourist traffic should be well equipped for such use, and bike paths with specially equipped parking spaces should be prepared for bicyclists.

In the city it is also necessary to increase the number of parks, gardens, squares, and open reservoirs.

It is necessary to increase the variety of cultural programs (concerts, theatrical premieres, art exhibitions, film screenings, dancing performances, and sporting events) in order to attract international attention and tourists.

One of main goals of St. Petersburg's development is the improvement of quality of life and citizen welfare.

St. Petersburg's ecological development policy should also be realized. As the first step, St. Petersburg should get rid of illegal dumps. Like any megalopolis, the city generates a considerable amount of municipal and industrial waste daily. It is thus necessary for the city to create new plants for processing and to eventually offer separate recycling services.

At present, there are negative trends being observed in the population's health. This shows the need for targeted prevention efforts to educate the population on how to take personal responsibility for individual health. It also shows the population's need to observe a healthy lifestyle and give up bad habits.

Thus, the city's main tasks in improving its situation is to develop a labor market and decrease unemployment, to modernize and find innovative means to development the basic sectors of the economy, to improve its citizens' living conditions , and to improve the environment.

¹¹¹ Ibid

However, if we want to achieve these goals, it is necessary to accelerate the pace of city improvement, as the measures that are taken at the moment don't allow further development and only keep up with population growth.

Simultaneously developing St. Petersburg in all the aforementioned sectors would be ideal. These sectors don't exclude, but rather supplement each other. St. Petersburg's transformation into a city open to the world, the largest international center for business and political collaboration that is integrated into the world economy, the largest Russian trade and transport center to have international value on the Baltic, and the center of innovative and administrative activity will create material preconditions for achieving the city's main goal – providing a European-quality standard of life for all its citizens.

Chapter 5. The image of Saint-Petersburg in Finland, Estonia, Latvia.

In this chapter we will try to analyze how our closest neighbors Finland, Estonia and Latvia view the image of Saint Petersburg. For a long period of time, these countries belonged to the Russian Empire and were then part of the Soviet Union. Many features connect St. Petersburg with these countries.

This chapter traces the changing image of St. Petersburg in the minds of these countries' from the founding of the city until today. Each sub-chapter relates opinions from Latvians, Estonians, and Finns who have visited St. Petersburg. Some of them were tourists, others remained in the city for a long time and had their fates linked to the city. For studying opinions about the city, various periodicals devoted to St. Petersburg and memoirs of former inhabitants were consulted, and modern opinion were collected through interviews with inhabitants of these countries.

Finland

Russia has played a significant role in the formation of Finnish identity. From 1809 until 1917, Finland was part of the Russian Empire. While the Grand Duchy has traditionally been viewed as an autonomous unit, this autonomy was almost similar to political sovereignty. The Grand Duchy had its privileged position in the Russian Empire.

Thousands of Finns lived and worked in St. Petersburg before the revolution, and in their memoirs, they wrote about the wonderful life of the Europeanized city. St. Petersburg undoubtedly seemed to Finns to be a European capital with thousands of possibilities. Neither in Finland, nor in all Baltic Sea, was there a city comparable in size with St. Petersburg.

In the 19th centuries many foreigners lived in St. Petersburg; Finns were the second-largest language group in the city, after Germans. At that time, the number of Finns in St. Petersburg was about 25 000¹¹². Therefore it is possible to say that the population of Finns in St. Petersburg wasn't particularly numerous but was easily discernible. At that time, the Finnish community, as one of the fundamental components of St. Petersburg's population, had its own

¹¹² Waldemar Melanko. A Few Remarks on Russian and East European Studies in Finland. <http://src-h.slav.hokudai.ac.jp/coe21/publish/no7/08melanko.pdf>, last accessed 01.11.2012

churches, parishes, schools, and newspapers. The city sometimes was called “the second capital of Finland”. We can also say that the history of St. Petersburg is part of Finnish history.

Therefore it is no wonder that many Finnish tourists told about the new miracles of the modern city which could be met only in big cities: about trams, electric lights, exhibitions, theaters, the ballet, and other sights common to big cities. Thus, the opinion about the city began to be formed by Finns a very long time ago.

As might be expected, in the second half of the nineteenth century, Finnish newspapers constantly wrote about Russia as a whole and about St. Petersburg in particular.

The dimensions of the Russian imperial capital e impressed all authors of that time. St. Petersburg’s visitors knew that the population of the imperial capital was one million, which was a half the population of Finland. For many, the majesty of St. Petersburg seemed threatening.

Petersburg was presented as a "new world" for the individual who had seen only the smaller Scandinavian capitals, a correspondent from a newspaper in Turku wrote¹¹³. Only the Neva was represented as the powerful river, the likes of which couldn’t be found in European cities. The General Staff Building seemed to be the most monumental construct in the world, and St. Petersburg’s huge bridges, Winter Palace, and St. Isaac's Cathedral impressed the tourists who took notes and sent them to newspapers. St. Michael’s Castle, the Church of St. Peter and Paul Fortress, the Summer Garden, Kazan Cathedral and other attractions were described in newspapers with amazing regularity¹¹⁴. Even the scale of residential buildings of St. Petersburg was so huge it seemed such buildings could house the entire population of a small Finnish town¹¹⁵.

A strong impression was made by Nevsky Prospect. There was constant heavy traffic there in all its diversity. Remarkable was the fact that despite the number of horses and driving speed, security was much better than in Helsinki. The diversity was striking - luxury carriages clearly belonged to high society could be seen with peasant carts and telegas. In shops it was possible to buy products corresponding to the latest Parisian fashions and simple Russian goods.

City visitors were surprised by the unprecedented diversity of Petersburg’s taverns. Here men in rags and old clothes, officials in tattered uniforms reading newspapers, women with

¹¹³ Abo Underrättelser. 21.11.1871.

<http://digi.lib.helsinki.fi/sanomalehti/secure/showPage.html?conversationId=1&action=entryPage&id=364261>

¹¹⁴ Wiipurin Sanomat. 18.11.1888.

<http://digi.lib.helsinki.fi/sanomalehti/secure/showPage.html?conversationId=2&action=entryPage&id=480792>

¹¹⁵ Kaiku. 12.01.1878.

<http://digi.lib.helsinki.fi/sanomalehti/secure/showPage.html?conversationId=3&action=entryPage&id=447118>

children eating soup, merchants drinking tea, and priests drinking vodka all sat side by side. Sometimes, there would be songs and fights, but the crowd would then kiss and make up¹¹⁶.

Others were surprised by domes of churches made from pure gold. "Gold, gold, everywhere just pure gold! If we remember that Moscow was still richer than St. Petersburg, if we remember what limitless wealth lies in the depths of Russia, in its many monasteries, its plants and vast fertile land, when we see her endless barracks and gallant regiments, we can be surprised at only what kind of powers Russia owns".¹¹⁷

St. Petersburg was also a city of endless entertainment, as noted by the Finns. So it was in all major cities, but it particularly excelled in Petersburg. Entertainment was endless. In fact, St. Petersburg woke up only at night. Theater shows would begin at 8, 9 or 10 pm and would end after midnight. Dances began at midnight. After that, the crowds would go to restaurants and then would leave the city. People, of course, worked, but the working day began only in the mid-afternoon, and even then that was only for those belonging to lower ranks. Higher officials came to work even later¹¹⁸.

Guests were also struck by the public order and general sense of public manners in St. Petersburg. Everyone was relatively polite to each other, apologizing when it was necessary, bad words were rarely heard, and the residents of the Russian capital were always polite and willing to help foreigners. Indeed, Petersburg's public could have served as a model for all Western European nations in this regard¹¹⁹.

In 1883, an observer from "Hufvudstadsbladet" praised the winter streets in Petersburg and compared them with streets in Helsinki. Petersburg was better in all respects. In St. Petersburg there were no high snow drifts on the street – they were cleaned by numerous workers. Sidewalks in Petersburg were not slippery, as they were in Helsinki¹²⁰.

In general, the reader of Finnish newspapers received the impression that everything regarding city services in Helsinki was poorly organized, whereas in St. Petersburg it was good.

In Petersburg even prisons were perfect. The food there was good, even better than home-cooked food. They had church services every other week in Finnish¹²¹.

¹¹⁶ Hämäläinen. 04.04. 1883

<http://digi.lib.helsinki.fi/sanomalehti/secure/showPage.html?conversationId=5&action=entryPage&id=388563>

¹¹⁷ Ibid

¹¹⁸ Åbo Tidning. 19.01.1884.

<http://digi.lib.helsinki.fi/sanomalehti/secure/showPage.html?conversationId=6&action=entryPage&id=472359>

¹¹⁹ Hufvudstadsbladet. 18.06.1889.

<http://digi.lib.helsinki.fi/sanomalehti/secure/showPage.html?conversationId=8&action=entryPage&id=470264>

¹²⁰ Hufvudstadsbladet. 10.02.1883

<http://digi.lib.helsinki.fi/sanomalehti/secure/showPage.html?conversationId=9&action=entryPage&id=377640>

¹²¹ Finlands Allmänna Tidning. 07.02.1867.

A correspondents described Russians as good-natured, peaceful, and decent people.

Tourists from Finland noted that people from different public classes communicated very freely with each other. It was obvious that class relations were closer than in Finland.

Finnish correspondents noted the "free" behavior of Russians several times. As such, it was easy to receive invitations to Russian households. Russian hospitality was famous around the world.

Russian women left a specific impression. They also acted "freely". A woman could even take the initiative to meet with a man. Many Finnish correspondents were surprised that many Russian women smoked¹²². Remarkable was the fact that Russian girls could visit male acquaintances without an attendant¹²³.

However, as many Finns noted, dishonesty was Russians' main defect. It was necessary to keep one's hand on one's wallet in taverns. "The infinite system of begging" and ingratiation to the rich was not one of the most pleasant Russian features for Finns¹²⁴.

At the state level, for Finns, St. Petersburg the city of the beloved and respected emperor. He was always very respectfully described, and his enemies were mentioned with horror and extreme indignation.

Nevertheless, it is possible to confidently say that the general image of St. Petersburg during those years was positive. Finns believed that St. Petersburg was an advanced city where institutes of everyday life were better established than in small Helsinki. It was a model city with institutions where positive features predominated. The people were wonderful, behaved, and pretty, far from hostile.

However, these opinions about the city were cast during the Russian Empire, and since then a lot of time has passed and Finnish-Russian relations have experienced a lot: World War II, the transformation of the Russian Empire into Soviet Union, and the Cold War, to name a few.

After the Cold War, changing the image of St. Petersburg, even after restoring its old name, was not so successful. It was difficult to recreate the city's image from before the First World War. At this time, St. Petersburg's image was portrayed by showing the dark side of everyday life. In 1990's, the image of St. Petersburg in the Finnish media was associated with the

<http://digi.lib.helsinki.fi/sanomalehti/secure/showPage.html?conversationId=10&action=entryPage&id=463384>

¹²² Åbo Tidning. 31.07.1883

<http://digi.lib.helsinki.fi/sanomalehti/secure/showPage.html?conversationId=11&action=entryPage&id=474762>

¹²³ Åbo Underrättelser. 19.04.1881

<http://digi.lib.helsinki.fi/sanomalehti/secure/showPage.html?conversationId=12&action=entryPage&id=360634>

¹²⁴ Hämäläinen. 04.04.1883

<http://digi.lib.helsinki.fi/sanomalehti/secure/showPage.html?conversationId=13&action=entryPage&id=388563>

mafia, homeless children, drugs, environmental pollution, and other problems found in a transitional economy. This did nothing to increase tourists' desire to visit the city.

Since then, the situation has considerably improved. St. Petersburg and Finland are united by active cooperation, and their interaction is very intense. In addition to the well-developed economic and commercial relations between the two countries, it should be noted that the Consulate General of Finland annually issues more than half a million visas. A huge number of people from St. Petersburg visit Finland at least once in their lives.

However, Finns do not lag behind Russian tourists. Finnish tourism in St. Petersburg will reach a new record this year. The growth of tourism is promoted by the high-speed "Allegro" train and visa-free cruises. Finns are attracted to the Northern capital of Russia first of all by its culture and history, and also by its hockey.

However, it is interesting to observe how the young generation in Finland sees Saint Petersburg.

Throughout its existence, St. Petersburg was a city full of contradictions and various images. The city was always contrasted with Moscow and always fought with it for hegemony in Russia.

Many Finns who have visited Moscow define it as chaotic, confused, illogical, and semi Asian, while they view St. Petersburg as civilized, harmonious and European. Many Finnish researchers note the inextricable link between St. Petersburg and classical Russian literature. For example, Petersburg is Dostoevsky's and Pushkin's city.

In his work, Finnish researcher of Marko Lehti considers St. Petersburg a city of the huge dimensions on the bank of the river of Neva, the population of which is equal to the population in all of Finland. He says that St. Petersburg has often been seen as an outpost of Europe in the east and as some kind of outsider in true Russia. The city appeared in an artificial, unnatural way on the Finnish bog as a result of Peter the Great's will. Also, like the residents of the city, the author knows myths about St. Petersburg. One of them claims that the city was built on uninhabited territory, while Moscow's roots date back to antiquity and run deep in the Russian soil. Nevertheless, St. Petersburg is not a city without a past, as a Swedish fortress and the city of Nyen used to lie where St. Petersburg is currently situated in the seventeenth century. Thus, St. Petersburg has a background, and even a Russian past, but the tendency is to forget these facts¹²⁵.

¹²⁵ Pertti Joenniemi. Saint-Petersburg: Russian, European and Beyond // Saint-Petersburg State University Press. 2001- Vol.95, p 15.

Finnish historian Matti Klinge claims that St. Petersburg is a European city. He represents the city not only as Russian, but also as English, Italian, especially German, and, of course, Finnish¹²⁶.

During the period when Finland was a part of Russia, many Finns made successful careers in the capital of the Russian Empire, and their names are still known in Finland. For example, the outstanding sixth president of Finland general Charles Gustav Mannerheim, the Finnish national hero studied here. Similarly, the well-known Finnish composer Jean Sibelius met success in Russia.

Nowadays many Finnish tourists who visited the city say that they enjoy walking through the city, as St. Petersburg's atmosphere can best be felt on foot! The glitz of imperial times can be seen in the center, near Nevsky Prospect. Its luxurious architecture is complemented by, numerous theaters, fine restaurants, opera houses, philharmonics, walking embankments, and parks.

In recollections about the city, tourists often mention the subway. Many note that the subway is an irreplaceable means to view the city with short intervals between trains (approximately two minutes) and beautiful, historic stations. However, a big shortcoming which all respondents noted is the big congestion of people in the subway, especially during rush hour, where people have to wait to enter into the subway through two narrow doors on the street. Standing in line can take a minimum of 15 minutes¹²⁷.

Someone mentioned the possibility of getting around in the city by taxi. By taxi it is possible to see the city; moreover, it is inexpensive and provides a pleasant atmosphere, one can carefully observe street-life, the radio plays cheerful Russian music, and as a rule, taxi drivers in St Petersburg are very talkative. It is especially convenient at night when public transport no longer runs. In Finland, taxi rates are more expensive. Often, though, there is no need to go by as public transport comes regularly and distances from place to place are short¹²⁸.

Driving, perhaps, may be the most convenient option, but in the city traffic can be quite intense. Traffic jams represent the hugest shortcoming for the streets of St. Petersburg.

Many respondents emphasize how making bicycle use more convenient would considerably ease traffic across the city. However, bicycle use in the city is fairly dangerous and impractical, due to the lack of special bicycle roads.

¹²⁶ Ibid

¹²⁷ Blogger Elina.

¹²⁸ Ibid

In the city there are many types of public transport. However, it isn't always effective to use them. Because of the number of vehicles traveling on city roads, traffic jams are a regular occurrence. In addition, it is necessary to wait a long time for the bus, even if schedules say otherwise. And when it finally comes, it is so crowded that you feel like you're in a can of sardines. In Finland, transport arrives strictly by schedule and doesn't get stuck in traffic jams. Buses and trams are quiet and clean, and there are always places to sit down. While it is possible to get around entirely on foot in Finland, in St. Petersburg this is practically impossible.

The well-known Finnish writer and literary critic Leena Lehtolaynen was in St. Petersburg. In response to a question about her first impression of St. Petersburg, she answered, "As I arrived on the "Allegro" train. For me it was interesting to discover how close Helsinki and St. Petersburg are! This is a very beautiful city, and I hope to visit it again".¹²⁹

Some Finns coming to St. Petersburg are scared of seemingly dangerous things which are commonplace to Russians. These include shaky scaffolding poorly erected on stones, or cars passing each other on sidewalks during traffic jams, among others. Some Finns who were in this city not as tourists told about huge Petersburg communal flats, which shocked them.

Many have noted St. Petersburg's influence on Helsinki. Walking through the center of Helsinki, there is a feeling like you are walking in a mini St. Petersburg. This is not surprising because the German architect Carl Ludvig Engel, the creator of Helsinki's city center, drew inspiration from the neoclassical style of St. Petersburg. Hardly any other foreign city has had such an impact on the Helsinki as St Petersburg.

In general, we can say that St. Petersburg has a special significance for Finns. The Soviet image of Leningrad is almost expelled from consciousness of Finns, and St. Petersburg is considered first of all as a European, cosmopolitan megalopolis, unlike other Russian cities.

Estonia.

There are close historical ties between St. Petersburg and Estonia. Since the eighteenth century, immigrants from the Northern and Southeastern part of Estonia (i.e. from border areas with Russia) have been settling in St. Petersburg. These immigrants were mostly comprised of workers, soldiers, and sailors. From the middle of the eighteenth century onward, the number of Estonians in Petersburg gradually began to increase. In the beginning they prayed together with Finns and then with Germans, but then Estonians separated from Germans and organized their

¹²⁹ Леена Лехтолайнен. «Идеи для романов приходят ко мне во время лыжных прогулок» <http://terve.su/leena-lehtolaynen>, last accessed 01.11.2012

own community in Kolomna. Soon in this area the St. John's church, an almshouse, and an Estonian school were constructed.

The middle of the nineteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century is considered to be the golden age of relations between Estonia and St. Petersburg. At that time, more than 40 thousand Estonians - many of them intelligentsia, composers, artists, and prominent public figures – lived in the territory of St. Petersburg. In the city there were Estonian newspapers, student associations, and sports groups. After Tallinn, St. Petersburg had the second largest Estonian population in the world.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, many Estonians studied in St. Petersburg, and some of them were accepted for military and public service in the Russian Empire. For example, the Estonian surgeons Philip Jacob Karell and Gustav Reinhold Hirsch served as personal doctors for emperors Nikolas I, Nikolas II and Alexander III. Thanks to their high position, they also supported other Estonians and actively participated in the political life of St. Petersburg's Estonian community.

Jacob Hurt, an eminent member of the Estonian national movement and a pastor in an Estonian church from 1880 until 1901, worked in St. Petersburg until his death in 1907. A linguist, folklorist, and ethnographer, he made major contributions to Estonian national culture. Petersburg's environment had a great impact on the outlook and activity of Estonian national movement's head, publicist and writer Charles Robert Jakobson.

Since the end of the nineteenth century, St. Petersburg has been an attractive place for Estonians to study. Estonian students preferred to study in Petersburg rather than in Riga or in Helsinki.

St. Petersburg was the birthplace of the first generation of Estonian professional musicians and composers. Such outstanding composers from the Estonian classical musical tradition such as Rudolf Tobias, Miina Harma, Johannes Kappel, Arthur Kapp, Peeter Siida, Mihkel Liidig, Heino Eller, Cyrillius Kreek, and others studied at the St. Petersburg Conservatory. Rudolf Tobias was a student of Russian composer Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov. All these names are still remembered by citizen of Estonia, and they are proud of them. Their names are associated with the city on the Neva.

An Estonian newspaper was issued in the imperial capital. The most popular was the "Peterburi Teataja", which paid much attention to peasant life. Various associations such as the Educational Association, the Petersburg Society of Estonian students, and others flourished in the city¹³⁰.

¹³⁰ Эстонцы в Петербурге. http://www.abnews.ru/?p=estontci_v_peterburge242, last accessed

Migration promoted the development of a transportation network. Railway communication between Estonia and St. Petersburg was established, and it helped increase the number of tourists from Estonia. Soon it increased trade levels between Estonia and St. Petersburg, and St. Petersburg became the largest market for Estonian agricultural and industrial productions.

For many Estonians St. Petersburg was an ideal place to find a job. Its growing car and chemical industry market, as well as its shipping and transport networks, were attractive in the eyes of Estonians. If you were lucky, you could find a job in the industrial or service sector.

After the October revolution, the Bolshevik government came to the power in Russia, and Estonia became an independent state. The border between Estonia and St. Petersburg was established. Since then, the relationship between Estonia and the Soviet Union (and, correspondingly, St. Petersburg) markedly deteriorated.

Migration into St. Petersburg stopped, and trade almost completely collapsed. The number of Estonians living in St. Petersburg started to decrease. From 1923, 40,000 Estonians returned to Estonia from Russia. About half of these people were from St. Petersburg and the surrounding area. Causes for the shrinking Estonian diaspora included the Stalinist repressions, the destruction of the rich peasant - kulak class, and mobilization during the Second World War.

After the capital was transferred to Moscow, St. Petersburg became the second-large city in the Soviet Russia; however, it didn't promote cultural exchange. Estonian students no longer came to study, businessmen didn't want to conduct business here, and Estonians stopped looking for jobs in the city.

After the Second World War, Estonia again became a part of Russia. Step by step, cultural and economic ties were restored. However, they were not as strong as before World War I.

Today, there are business relations between Estonia and St. Petersburg: Estonian capital is the third largest in Petersburg, and companies working in construction and the dairy industry have started to thrive here¹³¹.

From the Estonian point of view, St. Petersburg was the capital of the Russian Empire for more than 200 years. The city was always associated with Russian policy-making and with Russia's ties to Europe, including tradition and ideology. The city has always been associated with navigation, trade, and culture.

¹³¹ Возможности Эстонии в России. http://novostispb.ru/news/external_relations/876/. last accessed 01.11.2012

Undoubtedly, now St. Petersburg is considered as one of Russia's cities which is close to Estonia. Many Estonians still see distinctions between St. Petersburg and Moscow. They believe St. Petersburg is the cultural center of Russia, whereas Moscow is the political center.

Estonians note that in the past there were productive cultural and economic relations between Estonia and Petersburg. This period lasted from the late nineteenth until the early twentieth century. Now St. Petersburg has a double value for Estonia. On the one hand, St. Petersburg is an unique city with an amazing history (including hundreds of monuments fascinating legends, and a special atmosphere of hospitality and friendliness), but on the other hand, it is a puppet on the Baltic in the hands of Moscow.

Among Estonians, there is an opinion that Petersburg was built as the new capital of the Russian Empire to implement westernized policy and to receive access to the Baltic Sea. However all country government was run directly from Moscow. The city on the Neva always served the political ambitions of Moscow. The city was a gateway to Europe, extended Russia's power in the Northern and Baltic Sea regions, and put pressure upon neighboring states. It is believed that the city tried to develop its own identity; however, these attempts were never seriously perceived by Moscow.

Many correspondents point out the uniqueness of St. Petersburg. Talking about the city, they mention its different sights, primarily: the Hermitage, St. Isaac's Cathedral, the Peter and Paul Fortress, world-famous palaces and parks such as Pushkin and Peterhof (with its wonderful fountains), and white nights.

Also, many Estonians remember that Petersburg was home to Rudolf Tobias, the well-known Estonian composer; to Lydia Koydula, the Estonian poetess born in St. Petersburg; and to Jacob Hurt, the Estonian folklorist, theologian, linguist, and public figure. But Estonians know that this city is also famous for the well-known Russian writers, politicians and public figures who were either born or lived in this city. First of all it is the city of Dostoevsky and Pushkin, and it is also the city of all Russian emperors, as well as the birthplace of Russian President Vladimir Putin.

Some Estonians claim that at first sight, St. Petersburg shines and its sidewalks look new, but if you observe the sights and streets of the city, it is possible to notice disintegration: cracks in buildings, , homeless people and drunkards, begging grandmothers, etc..

Tourists from Estonia noted that in the city it would be more convenient to use a bicycle; however, such an option is too dangerous.

Some interviewees believe that St. Petersburg is a wonderful city. Russians in Petersburg are more friendly than Muscovites - if you speak Russian, they will be very glad to communicate

Others think the Hermitage is a great and massive building. However, the museum collection is so huge that it is quite difficult to spend more than two hours inside. People stop paying attention to the museum and wander past the pictures and statues, unable to appreciate anything.

However, besides the Hermitage, the city offers the Admiralty, Nevsky Prospect, the Peter and Paul Fortress, a lot of churches, ancient streets and channels near Nevsky Prospect, and many other sites. Many emphasize that it is not a typical Russian city constructed in the eighteenth century and that it remained substantially untouched, unlike Moscow, which was quite often changed and reconstructed.

As for public transport, Estonians claim that the subway in St. Petersburg goes quite often and for so big city it is an ideal vehicle, however in rush hours subway is much overflowed. It was normal for young men to give up their seats to older women, and also for seated passengers to invite standing passengers to rest shopping bags on their laps.

Currently, St. Petersburg is considered a good place for higher education. Good contacts have been established between Higher education institutions in Estonia and St. Petersburg. Especially popular are the Conservatory, the Academy of Arts, St. Petersburg State University, and higher education institutions for the theater. St. Petersburg residents also study in Estonian universities.

St. Petersburg is deemed by Estonians as not just another Russian city. They consider it a city which considerably effected the political, economic, military, and cultural development of Estonia. Estonians have always viewed St. Petersburg differently from the rest of Russia; it is another Russia, Russia in the European sense.

Latvia

Expatriate Latvians appeared in the new capital under Peter the Great, but it was the Baltic Germans who for centuries lived on Estonian and Latvian land. Latvians and Estonians were peasants who lived with German burghers in the cities. The first Latvians in Petersburg were soldiers. After twenty five years' service in the army, retired soldiers who had lost communication with their native land and had mastered Russian preferred to remain in Russia. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the Latvian community (about 2, 5 thousand people), most of whom were retired military junior ranks and representatives of the lower middle class, arose in Petersburg. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the number of industrial workers was growing. At the beginning of the last century, 18, 5 thousand Latvians lived in the city¹³². In

¹³² Маша Вайдеши. Диаспора/Латыши. http://www.adresaspb.ru/arch/adresa_39/39_002/39_02.htm, last accessed 01.11.2012

addition, a significant number of Latvian craftsmen came to Petersburg to earn riches and then came back to their homeland after some years.

For Latvians, St. Petersburg had an image associated with wealth and education, and as such, many came to the city to get an education, to find a job, and to get rich. Especially in the nineteenth century, the flow of students began to increase. Young Latvians saw the capital of the Russian Empire as an ideal place for education and for a well-paying job. In 1860, according to some data, the number of Latvians living and working in St. Petersburg already numbered five thousands¹³³. Besides students and teachers, this figure comprised public servicemen, skilled workers, and staff of various companies.

The city struck guests of the time with its multi-nationality. Finns, Germans, Poles, Russians, Estonians, Latvians and many others peacefully coexisted in St. Petersburg. Often describing the city, tourists used words in the superlative; they were shocked by the beauty and immensity of buildings, and St. Petersburg was seen as a world-class city which couldn't compare with other cities in the Baltic region. For this reason, the city was connected with a lot of myths about great opportunities for finding and creating work.

Most of the Latvians coming to the capital knew German well, so they worked in German workshops, visited German clubs, and entered German communities. Natives of east area of Latvia knew Polish, and they worked at plants, were engaged in agriculture, paved streets, and constructed railroads. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the fate of many representatives of Latvian intelligentsia became linked with Petersburg. In the universities of Tartu and Riga there were strong German traditions, and learning there was seen as rejection of one's nation, so patriotic Latvian students preferred to study in the universities of St. Petersburg. Latvian artists were graduates of Imperial Academy of Arts, and Latvian composers studied at the Petersburg Conservatory. The vast majority of graduating students remained in Petersburg long after their education. Even those who completed university in Tartu or Riga and could not get a job went to Petersburg.

For many young Latvians, the capital of the Russian Empire was associated with freedom.

At the time, the prevailing language in the largest cities of Latvia was German. The Germans ruled Riga municipality and did not recognize Latvians equal rights for Latvians. As a result, the leaders of the first Latvian national movement moved to St. Petersburg.

In 1862, "Peterburgas Avizes" began to be published. It was the first periodical defending the interests of native Latvians. The newspaper was published in St. Petersburg and then transported to Latvia. It was published by propagandists of young Latvian parties ideology, such

¹³³ Ibid

as the publicist Krishyanis Valdemars, the poet Yuris Alunans, and the folklorist Krishyanis Barons, who systematized huge collection of the Latvian folksongs. Kaspars Biyezbardis published one of the first serious philosophical works in the Latvian language in Peterburgas Avizes¹³⁴. Subsequently, all these people became eminent figures in the Latvian national movement and made a huge contribution to the development of the Latvian culture. Nowadays, in honor of the authors of Pēterburgas Avizes, streets in the center of Riga – Alunan Street, the Baron, Valdemar – are named after them. Modern-day Latvians still know and honor them.

Therefore, for many Latvians of that time, St. Petersburg represented a place where free-thinking wasn't punished, where people could fight for their rights and freedom, and where the public could defend national interests.

From the early nineteenth until the early twentieth century, , the image of St. Petersburg in the minds of Latvians was positive, but then St. Petersburg began to lose its position. This was connected with Emperor Alexander III's policy of national oppression and russification.

In 1888, Russian became the official language of all Baltic government institutions, law enforcement became entirely Russian,, and Russian officials were appointed to the judicial. The sole language of education was Russian. The entirety of public life was subordinated to strict control from imperial officials. Then, in 1905, there was revolution which was brutally suppressed. There was also some economic rivalry between Riga and St. Petersburg, as both cities were industrial centers. All these events considerably undermined the image of the city, as St. Petersburg was associated with the monarchist capital from which orders arrived.

However, Saint Petersburg held great importance for Latvia's residents, mostly due to its capital status. St. Petersburg was regarded as a European city, with good welfare and excellent education opportunities. In contrast to other parts of Russia, which significantly differed from cities on the Baltic Sea, the city on the Neva was closer and clear to the Baltic people, although it had typically Russian characteristics with which all tourists were acquainted.

Until 1917, about thirty thousand Latvian immigrants from Latvia lived on Petersburg's territory. After World War I, after the Bolsheviks came to power and Latvia became independent, relations between the countries started to change. And the significance of St. Petersburg for inhabitants of Latvia started to change. Now the city was connected with memories generally from before World War I. It was a majestic and regal European city during the reign of the emperor, during which a huge number Latvian arrived in search of something better.

¹³⁴ Гурин А. Параллели истории. http://www.pctvl.lv/?lang=ru&mode=parallels&submode=&page_id=3805, last accessed 01.11.2012

However, for Latvians, Soviet St. Petersburg is mainly connected with the repression of 1937-1953, during which many Latvians living in Leningrad were killed. Hundreds of kulaks, criminals, and nationalists were killed, while others were exiled to Siberia. Now the city was associated with the Bolshevik terror, deprivation, a lack of European culture, and the absence of freedom of speech and freedom in general.

Leningrad of that time is described as such. The well-known Latvian opera singer Mariss Vetra, following a visit to Leningrad, later wrote in his memoirs in exile: 'It was a very strange and dismal feeling, to walk along the famous Nevsky Prospekt in search of writing paper. In my school days, Nevsky Prospekt in Petersburg [in Tsarist times] was the most splendid street in Europe, with a parquet surface, the richest shops and the grandest Russian landowners' palaces along the pavements. Troikas and other horse-teams pulling fine carriages and sleighs dashed along the cobbling of hexagonal oak blocks. Everything glittered from the bright lights and bright shops. Everything, every single thing was different in Leningrad than in St. Petersburg.'¹³⁵

After World War II, Latvia, like Estonia and Lithuania, was annexed by the Soviet Union. That did not help establish friendly relations between Russia and Latvia, and many Latvians still believe that they were occupied. And the image of Leningrad, which was propagandized in the Soviet Union as a heroic wartime city was little understood. However, the city had a positive image: it was perceived as the cultural capital of Russia, where people were more educated, intelligent and cultural, as opposed to the rest of Russia

In 1990, the Soviet Union collapsed, and Latvia, as well as other Baltic states, gained independence. After this, activities of the Latvian Consulate in St. Petersburg were restored. Trade and economic relations were improved, and the number of tourists between the countries increased.

However, researcher Valter Scerbinskis believes that in the consciousness of Latvians, St. Petersburg wasn't identified as part of the Baltic region. Though the city considerably also differed from other parts of Russia, it still belonged to this Russia. The writer considers that St. Petersburg always pursued its personal interests, often contradicting with the interests of Latvia. It wasn't comparable with any of the cities of Latvia in terms of size and ambitions and its neighbors. None of these cities aimed at world-city status, which without any doubt characterized St. Petersburg.¹³⁶

Many correspondents connect the city with those well-known Latvian figures who lived and worked in St. Petersburg.

¹³⁵ Pertti Joenniemi. Saint-Petersburg: Russian, European and Beyond // Saint-Petersburg State University Press. 2001- Vol.95, p 15.

¹³⁶ Ibid

Almost all well-known Latvian composers from the end of the nineteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century studied in St. Petersburg. Composer Karlis Baumanis is the author of the national anthem "My God, bless Latvia". For many years he taught German at the Smolny Institute and actively promoted the organization of the 1st All-Latvian Song Festival. Andreys Yuryans — the founder of Latvian classical music and conductor of three Song Festival – studied organ, composition, and the French horn at the Petersburg Conservatory. Well-known composer Yazeps Vitols lived in Russia for ten years. He not only studied here, but also taught as a professor in the St. Petersburg Conservatory. After Latvia declared independence, Yazeps Vitols founded Riga's first conservatory and became the founder and head of the Union of Composers of Latvia. Other noteworthy individuals studied in the Russian capital, such as the future founder of Latvian opera Alfreds Kalnīnš; the popular composer Emīls Darziņš, who would become a People's Artist of the Latvian SSR; and the main conductor of the Song Festival Emīls Melngailis.

In St. Petersburg "the father of Latvian theater," the actor and director Adolfs Alunāns studied, as well as well-known poet Yannis Raynis. In St. Petersburg Latvian poet Auseklis (Mikēlis Kroģzemis) spent the last years of his short life, and here Latvian artists and architects learned the secrets of painting.

Latvian artist Karlis Gong studied in the St. Petersburg academy of Arts. The first Latvian architect — Yannis Baumanis, the founder of national architecture – received his professional education there too. Petrograd's free art workshops educated Karlis Zale, the architect behind the monuments to Dobrolyubov and Garibaldi and the designer of the Freedom monument in Riga. In Petersburg the future father of Latvian theater, actor, playwright and director Adolfs Alunāns learned the art of theater. In 1883-1988 the Latvian poet, playwright, and politician Jan Raynis studied at the law department of Petersburg University.

These prominent Latvians are still known in their homeland, and their names are connected to St. Petersburg.

Some Latvians noted that the city considerably differs from Moscow; is filled with more cultural events and activities; has more striking architecture; and has residents who are more similar to inhabitants of Baltic and Scandinavian countries.

Others emphasize the openness and affability of local residents and the city's unique Italian style, therefore comparing it with Italy.

However, correspondents think that St. Petersburg, in comparison with Latvian cities, is huge; as such, it's scary at first, and it takes a while to adapt. The infrastructure of the city is well developed and orderly. In the city there are a lot of various types of public transport which

promote fast movement around the city, but because of huge traffic jams especially during rush hour, getting around the city becomes difficult.

Thus, Latvians recognize that St. Petersburg has a significant role in the history of Latvia. Despite all the events which occurred over the last 100 years, the city still is considered the European capital of Russia, with a rich cultural and educational potential. Many residents of Latvia view St. Petersburg positively.

Conclusion

We analyzed the image of the city from its founding to the present; we can say that it has been perceived by Finns, Estonians, and Latvians alike. Of course, the historical past has, in a certain way, influenced relationships between our countries, but the image of the city has not been significantly affected. Like during the time of the Russian Empire, the city fascinates visitors with its magnificence, numerous monuments, parks, white nights, and canals.

Many still consider St. Petersburg a cultural city, but it is connected not only with numerous theaters, museums, and cultural activities, but also with people who are engaged in art, music, photography, etc. People living in this city create its cultural image.

St. Petersburg is known not only as the city of Pushkin and Dostoyevsky, but also as the city of well-known Finnish composer Jean Sibelius, of well-known Estonian composer Rudolf Tobias, of Estonian poetess Lydia Koydula, and of numerous Latvian cultural figures.

In the consciousness of foreigners the city still differs from Moscow. They describe St. as a more civilized and European city. Since its foundation, the city has been presented as a European city, a city where people of different nationalities and religions coexisted.

Negative aspects associated with the city were also voiced by correspondents. First of all these are traffic jams, as a result of which it is sometimes difficult to plan one's schedule. And also local weather changes so quickly that you never know will there be sun or rain.

In general it is possible to say that St. Petersburg has a special significance for Finns, Estonians and Latvians. Primarily, this is because it is considered a European, cosmopolitan megalopolis, unlike other Russian cities.

Conclusion

In sum, an image can be defined as a relatively stable and reproducible set of emotional and rational ideas, beliefs, and feelings in the mass or individual consciousness which arise based on features of the region and develop according to information obtained from various sources and personal experience and impressions.

Image can be both positive and negative. Certainly, the management of any city seeks to create if not a unique, then at least a favorable image. Forming a city's image and increasing its recognition helps attract attention to it, makes it possible for individuals to more effectively lobby for the city's interests, improves the investment climate, and generates additional resources for developing the regional economy. Moreover, promoting regions' images is a long-term way of overcoming difficulties in forming a country's image as a whole.

There are several types of images of the city, all based on various factors. First of all, there are internal and external subjects. In terms of its bearers, a city's image can be individual or public. The image of the city also differs by how the city is perceived. It is possible to identify a tangible and intangible image.

The image of the city has properties: variability, historicity, relative stability, complexity, pluralism of points of view, and dependence on certain objective characteristics of city development. The city's changing image depends on many factors: the current economic situation, unexpected changes, various aspects of city life, state and urban policies, and technical innovations.

The structure of the image shows the relationship between the following concepts: the city's appearance, stereotypes about the city, urban symbolism, the status of the city, urban folklore, and the soul of the city, urban mythology, and emotional connections to the city.

The structure of the city's image consists of the following concepts: the status of the city, the look of the city, the soul of the city, urban folklore, stereotypes about the city, urban mythology, emotional connections to the city, and municipal symbols. The city's image is formed within and outside its limits. Designing a brand for the city is thus necessary for advancing the city's image.

A territory's brand is a set of values reflecting unique consumer characteristics of this territory and its outlying communities which are widely known, which have gained public recognition, and which take advantage of local consumers' stable demands. The enduring, stable brand of the city allows for the rapid inclusion of internal and external investors and promotes dynamic city development. The brand has an impact on the social, cultural, and political aspects

of city life. It measures these features, estimating strengths, weaknesses, and attractive characteristics.

Saint Petersburg is a city of federal significance. The city is one of the most prominent geo-economic leaders of Russia, a key hub in implementing economic communication on a global scale. The city has played an essential role in international events throughout its existence.

St. Petersburg actively develop as a city open for the world, as a large international center of economic, political and cultural cooperation, integrated into the world economy. The city becomes a place where representative negotiations are held, including at the top level, conferences, forums and important political and economic decisions having a great impact on development of the international community are made.

St. Petersburg also is the cultural capital of Russia, the site of many festivals, exhibitions and concerts which have the international significance. Tourists are becoming more attracted to St. Petersburg, which has allowed it to become one of Europe's leading centers of international tourism.

Historical events that took place in the city affect its image. Their meaning can be different. They can raise the city's status and give impetus to development or they can impair life in the city and become a source of shame. Some events are quickly forgotten, while others are engraved in the collective memory for a long time. Such images include "The European capital", " The Cradle of the Revolution ", " The Siege of Leningrad ", "and The criminal capital", and others. Many citizens still know and remember many myths connected with the city, such as St. Petersburg's foundation on uninhabited desert territory, the city's location atop a bog, or the numerous bones which lie under the city.

Thus, highlighting various elements of St. Petersburg's image, it is possible to identify its core. It includes historical events such as the founding of the city by Peter the Great and the Great Patriotic War, enterprises and organizations, outstanding personalities, writers, the city's main points of interest, and urban myths.

Based on the summaries of various spheres of activity in St. Petersburg, it is possible to conclude that the city has a unique image.

In general, citizens positively assess these elements of the city's image. Residents experience the greatest amount of pride regarding events from the city's recent history. St. Petersburg is seen by citizens, first of all, as a city of great historical merits and as the cultural capital of Russia.

Currently, globalization is one of the distinguishing features of St. Petersburg's present stage of social development.

Globalization has increased the intensity of cultural exchanges. In fact, it created transparent borders for talented individuals, lifting almost all restrictions for outstanding performers, conductors, artists and filmmakers on moving between countries. The products of creativity and culture in the conditions of globalization do not belong to a specific nation; rather, they become the property of all mankind. Globalization promotes cultural universality. The globalization of culture is the acceleration of the integration of nations in a global system following the development of modern vehicles and economic relations and the formation of transnational corporations and a global market, thanks to how mass media impacts people.

Globalization led to basic changes in the relationships between national, elite, and mass cultures, as it has contributed to their mixing and interweaving. Clear boundaries between cultures do not exist.

Under the conditions of globalized culture, the borders surrounding a city's image are slowly being eroded. Now, the way a city's residents perceive their city's image hardly differs from how foreigners do. If earlier each country had its own image of St. Petersburg, at present, the image of the city in Estonia, Latvia and Finland does not differ from its image among locals.

At present, practically all inhabitants of Finland, Estonia and Latvia consider St. Petersburg a cultural city, but it is connected not only with numerous theaters, museums, and cultural activities, but also with people who are engaged in art, music, photography, etc. People living in this city create its cultural image.

Together with residents of the city, foreigners know that St. Petersburg is famous for outstanding politicians and writers; it is the city of great Russian emperors, it is Pushkin and Dostoevsky's city, it is the city in which Vladimir Putin was born, it is the city where well-known Finnish composer Jean Sibelius, Estonian composer Rudolf Tobias, Estonian poetess Lydia Koidula, and several Latvian cultural figures lived.

St. Petersburg's residents consider themselves more cultural and educated than Muscovites, and they are proud that St. Petersburg is still considered the cultural capital. In the consciousness of foreigners, the city also differs from Moscow. St. Petersburg seems to them to be a more civilized and European city. They believe St. Petersburg is the cultural center of Russia, whereas Moscow is political. According to residents of the Baltic and Nordic countries, Saint-Petersburg is filled with more cultural events and activities. Many correspondents note the inextricable link between St. Petersburg and Russian classical literature.

Residents of the city and Finns, Estonians and Latvians consider St. Petersburg a good place to get an education.

As well as residents of the city, foreigners are amazed by St. Petersburg's architecture and various sights. Many correspondents point out the uniqueness of St. Petersburg. Talking

about the city, they mention its different points of interest, primarily: the Hermitage, St. Isaac's Cathedral, the Peter and Paul Fortress, its world-famous palaces and parks such as Pushkin and Peterhof (with its wonderful fountains), and white nights.

It is also recognized that St. Petersburg is a city of the Baltic region and that it is the gateway to Europe for Russia.

St. Petersburg is regarded as a European city, in which people of various nationalities and religions peacefully get on with good welfare towards each other. In contrast to other parts of Russia, which significantly differ from cities on the Baltic Sea, the city on the Neva was closer and clearer to the Baltic people, although it had typically Russian characteristics with which all tourists were acquainted.

Not only citizens, but also foreigners know about the various myths connected with city. For example, the city appeared in an artificial, unnatural way by dint of Peter's will on uninhabited swamplands.

St. Petersburg is deemed by residents and foreigners as not just another Russian city. They consider it a city which considerably effected the political, economic, military, and cultural development of Finland, Estonia, and Latvia. They have always viewed St. Petersburg differently from the rest of Russia; it is another Russia, Russia in the European sense, more similar to the Baltic and Scandinavia.

In addition, respondents have negative associations connected with the city, namely with its traffic jams that sometimes make it difficult to move around the city and to plan according to schedule. And also local weather changes so quickly that you never know if there will be sun or rain.

Thus, due to globalization processes that contributed to the merging of internal and external images of the city, as well as the city's branding in the countries surveyed, St. Petersburg has an image of a unique, inimitable city. It is considered one of the important centers of Russia, a city with an amazing history and unique monuments. In general it can be said that St. Petersburg has a special significance for Finns, Estonians and Latvians, as well as for its residents. First of all, it is considered a European, cosmopolitan metropolis, unlike other Russian cities.

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Appendix 1

Interview questions:

1. Have you ever been in Saint-Petersburg
2. Are there any difference between St. Petersburg and other cities of Russia?
3. What do you think about St. Petersburg?
4. What was the first association about the city?
5. Are there any negative moments connected with the city?
6. Do you know the myths and legends about the city?
7. What is the most memorable in St. Petersburg?

Appendix 2

Interview questions:

1. If you were asked to describe the St. Petersburg newcomer, what would you tell?
2. Are there any the different between residents of St. Petersburg and residents from other cities of Russia? Why? What?
3. Do you know the myths and legends associated with the city?
3. Remember that the most significant events occurred in the city since its foundation. How do they impact on the life of St. Petersburg and the whole country? What other important events in the history of the city can you remember?
4. What are the merits of historical events makes you feel proud? What else? Why?